

*THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY TO
THE TRUTH OF SCRIPTURE.*

HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

THE OLD TESTAMENT,

*GATHERED FROM ANCIENT RECORDS, MONUMENTS
AND INSCRIPTIONS,*

BY

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WITH ADDITIONS BY

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AND A PREFACE

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PREFACE.

The good fight of faith is a perpetual but ever-changing conflict. The warfare is transferred from land to land, and handed down from generation to generation, as new phases of doubt, disbelief, and denial present themselves from age to age. A true faith cannot be hereditary; it must be based upon personal experience, personal investigation, and personal understanding. The investigations of the father do not work conviction in the mind of the son; each for himself must search, and learn, and be established.

Most of the skepticism of the present day springs from the ignorance of those who deny without investigating, and who have not the slightest idea of the amount of evidence for the truth of the Scriptures which past researches have disclosed. Skeptics im-bibe and rehearse the second-hand doubts, stale cavils, and antiquated sneers of former generations; but they do not look up the answers to these obsolete objections, and they are ignorant of the facts and arguments by which these cavils were pulverized before they were born, and scattered away like the chaff of the summer's threshing-floor before they had ever heard of them.

There is no field of research or argument where infidelity has ever been victorious in the fight against the Gospel of Christ. Wherever her forces have been marshaled for combat, they have been defeated. Whether in heaven above, or earth beneath,

or in the waters under the earth; whether in the ranges of astronomy or geology, history or science, psychology or biology, the result has ever been the same. Unbelief has suffered defeat, and faith has kept the field. "Science," it is true, has contradicted the Bible, but then science has also contradicted itself, and is doing it every day. The science of yesterday is the foolishness of to-day; while the science of to-day will be the laughing-stock of to-morrow. And wherever science at last arrives at firm, well-considered, and permanent conclusions, she finds herself anticipated by divine revelation, and standing on ground which the Scriptures of truth have occupied for ages before.

In one respect the Old Testament has occupied a most peculiar position. So far as the New Testament is concerned, it is hemmed in on every side by the definite lines of authentic history. For ages, from the beginning of the world, we find no historic traces of Christ or of Christianity. During the 60 years reaching from the death of Julius Cæsar, B. C. 44, to the death of the poet Ovid, A. D. 18, there are preserved the works of such orators, poets, historians, and geographers, as Cicero, Sallust, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Strabo, and Livy—men of culture, intelligence, and ability—but in none of their works have we the slightest mention of Christ or of Christianity. A generation later we find Christians everywhere, and writers, such as Josephus, Tacitus, Pliny, and Trajan, making explicit mention of the presence of that mighty religious fraternity which, within that brief period, had come into the life of the world, where it still exists as the grandest forming force of all historic ages.

The commencement and entire existence of Christianity thus lies within the range of authentic history, and the literature of the world bears witness to its wondrous and all pervading energy. But as regards the Jewish religion the case is different. The Hebrew Scriptures mostly antedated all authentic

history, and the Old Testament stood alone, a solitary witness, neither confirmed nor contradicted by any record of those ancient times.

The debauched and besotted idolaters of antiquity had perished in their own corruption, and left no descendants to preserve their traditions or their literature. Drunkenness, luxury, and lust had ended in overthrow and desolation; and the only ancient people which preserved the records of its origin, and the history of its progress, was that strange and mysterious race, which have been for centuries wanderers in every country, and who, though exiled, oppressed, down-trodden, robbed, and wronged, yet stand to-day, more numerous, wealthy, prominent and influential than ever before; and exhibiting a degree of fecundity, longevity, constitutional vigor, intellectual power, and physical health, such as no nation on the globe can boast.*

In the absence of all contemporary and confirmatory testimony, it has become customary for infidels, skeptics, and modern critics, to give the rein to fancy, and contradict or question at pleasure the statements contained in the Old Testament. They had their own way about it. They denied and discredited what they pleased, and no one could stop their mouths. There was no other evidence on the points in question, and all the witnesses were dead.

Thus things went on until scoffers grew bold, skepticism increased, and timid Christians almost trembled for the Ark of the Covenant in the hands of the Philistines.

It is true there was the evidence from *prophecy*. These same books which contained historic records of the past, also contained predictions concerning the future; and the most ignorant and impudent criticism could not deny that the books had been in existence for more than fifteen centuries, and that

*For facts confirming this statement, consult *Remarks on "The Mistakes of Moses,"* by H. L. Hastings; *Anti-Infidel Library* No. 6. Price 5 cts.

during all those centuries Jerusalem had been trodden under foot of the Gentiles; and Israel had been scattered among all nations without a king, a priest, an altar or a sacrifice, as Christ and the prophets had predicted;* and the simplest logic would find in the demonstrated truth of the prophecy an argument for the probable truth of the history which preceded it. But this argument demands research, and skeptics are not fond of research, especially if it upsets their pet conclusions; and prophecy, even among many who profess to believe and teach the word of God, is too much a sealed and neglected book, being discredited by the rashness of the presumptuous and the unbelief of the indifferent. Hence, while those familiar with the subject, who were willing to adopt the methods of Christ and his apostles, and reason out of the Scriptures, found an unfailing anchorage for their hopes in the fulfillments of Scripture prophecy; multitudes too ignorant or indifferent to seek out such evidences, were left to drift away upon the tides of doubt and unbelief.

It needed new evidences to meet and confute these new forms of skeptical and destructive criticism, and whence they were to come was not clearly apparent.

The invasion of Egypt by Napoleon, in 1798, commenced a new era. French artists and savants explored the territory, investigated the natural history, examined the antiquities, and described and depicted the monuments of that ancient empire; and with all the zeal of skeptical enthusiasts collected the materials from which, in 1826, the French government issued its *Description de l'Egypte*, in twenty-five volumes, with more than 900 engravings. From that time to this such writers as Lepsius, Wilkinson, Sharpe, Lane, Kenrick, and others have increased and popularized information concerning this most ancient of nations.

Infidels hailed these discoveries with rapture, and hoped by means of them to overthrow the

* Luke xxi. 24. Hosea iii. 4.

Scriptures and demolish Christianity. But their hopes have failed, and Egyptian literature in the camp of infidelity has proved like the wooden horse filled with Grecian warriors within the gates of Troy. Infidelity has been discomfited, while Scripture gathers fresh evidences of its truth from the pyramids, pictures, inscriptions, monuments, manuscripts, and mummies of the Land of the Pharaohs.*

In 1845 Austen Henry Layard, after an extended course of Eastern travel, returned to Mosul, on the banks of the Tigris, and undertook those successful researches and investigations already inaugurated by Mr. Rassam, which have enriched the British Museum with a vast mass of inscriptions and antiquities, and which have brought back to us the splendors of ancient Assyria, Nineveh, and Babylon, and made us acquainted with facts, events, dynasties, kings, conquests, laws, and literature which had been buried and forgotten for ages, but which conduct us back to the sources of authentic history, along the very paths which the Jewish writers trod, and introduce us to the world which the prophets saw, the kings whose wickedness they denounced, the cities and nations whose overthrow they foretold, and the idols whose downfall they predicted; leading us back even to Ur of the Chaldees, the abode of Abraham, and making us acquainted with the kings and kingdoms mentioned in the early pages of the book of Genesis.

From the deep shadows of the past come to us not only new shapes and unknown names, but also others long familiar to the student of the word of God. We find here poems, romances, traditions, mythologies, legends, calendars, and legal documents in abundance. But we find also sculptures, statues,

* While competent judges assert that twenty thousand dollars might be expended in the purchase of works bearing upon Egyptian history and antiquities, the ordinary reader will find the leading points embodied in *Egypt in History and Prophecy; or, Pharaoh Proclaiming God*, by Dr. Robert Patterson; it being Number 2 of the *Anti-Infernal Library*, issued by the publishers of this volume. Price 15 cents.

and official records, representations and memorials of the acts, exploits, campaigns, and victories of the great and mighty monarchs of those times, such as Darius, Cyrus, Artaxerxes, Sargon, Shalmaneser, Esarhaddon, Tiglath-Pileser, Nebuchadnezzar, Sennacherib, Merodach-Baladan, Hazael, Shishak, Tirhakah, Benhadad, Omri, Mesha, Jehu, Ahab, and Hezekiah. We find accounts of the battles fought with Israel and with other nations, of the tribute paid by Hezekiah to the Assyrian ruler,* of the battle of Megiddo, and of the conquest of various kingdoms. We find Nimrod, the "mighty hunter," sculptured in solid rock, grasping a captured young lion in his hands; we find kings exhibited as tormenting and mutilating their captives; we find pictured representations of men, with Jewish faces, making brick in Egypt under the lash of the task-masters; and bricks yet remain mingled with straw and stubble. We find not only inscriptions dating back to the Pharaohs, but even the Pharaohs themselves, mummied and preserved to the present day;† in a word, we find a magazine of sculptures, inscriptions and royal records, which testify, at every point of contact, to the truthfulness of the Hebrew Scriptures that have come down to our own times.

Such evidence as this is cumulative. Every day the pickaxe of the explorer may unearth a new relic, or the acumen of the antiquarian may decipher a new inscription, and hence the evidence increases day by day; and we can only record that which has been developed, and await the new discoveries which are continually being made.

Among the many students who have given their time and labor to the recent investigation of Oriental

* The apparent discrepancy in the account of the ransom paid by Hezekiah, 300 talents of silver (2 Ki. xviii. 13), and 800 talents as given by Sennacherib's inscriptions, may be explained as on p. 143 of this work; or more probably by the fact that there were different kinds of talents in different nations, 300 of one being equal to 800 of the other.

† See Dr. Patterson's *Egypt in History and Prophecy*, p. 15.

antiquities, perhaps none are more thoroughly equipped for the work than Rev. GEORGE RAWLINSON, Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford, and author of that elaborate series of histories, *The Seven Great Oriental Monarchies*.* The following pages exhibit in the briefest form the results of some of his researches in this department of study, and illustrate and confirm the statements of Scripture history. The volume has had an extensive circulation in Great Britain, and the present edition has received additions and notes from the pen of the late Professor H. B. Hackett, so well known to all Bible students, as the editor of the American edition of *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, and as one of the American Revisers of the New Testament. Professor Hackett's additions to the Text are distinguished by brackets, his Notes by his initial; and the Appendices were also added by him.

The volume is now presented to the Christian public as exhibiting in a condensed and inexpensive form the results of some of the later researches in the department of Oriental antiquities.

These voices of the dead speak to us the strange names which for ages had only been uttered by the Hebrew prophets and historians. Infidelity had branded them as fictions and had scouted the Scripture accounts as utterly fabulous and unreliable. And lo! from the dust of ages, march forth these denizens of the dead and buried past. Here are records, chronicles, inscriptions, sculptures, memorials, traditions, legal documents by the hundred, volume after volume of which are now brought within reach of the English reader, containing the official records of those very kings of whose existence the Old Testament has heretofore been the only witness.†

*To his elaborate volumes on the *Ancient Monarchies*, the author constantly refers for fuller details and pictorial illustrations. American editions place this splendid work within the reach of the people in 5 vols. 8vo.; price \$6.25. To be had of the publishers.

† See *Records of The Past*, being English translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments. In twelve volumes. London: Bagsters, publishers, 15 Paternoster Row.

What answer will infidelity make to these facts? Nothing. Infidelity does not answer. It raises its objections, utters its assertions, kindles its fire, and runs away in the smoke of it. It has never answered the arguments of Christian apologists, because they are unanswerable; but it spawns a new batch of theories, objections, and cavils every year, and without waiting to defeat the living, or bury its own dead, simply leaves the field of its overthrow to prosecute a guerrilla warfare in some other region, only to be pursued and defeated, and again compelled to change its base, to seek new arguments, and invent fresh falsehoods to sustain a failing cause. True to their traditions, skeptics are as noisy when unmolested as any of the bullfrogs and pollywogs from which they claim to be descended, and they are also quite as ready to hide themselves in the mud upon the approach of a foe. As imitative as the ancestral apes for whom they cherish such a filial veneration, they borrow their arguments and their sneers, their blunders and their grimaces, and peddle about the exploded nonsense of past generations for the edification of others as ignorant and unthinking as themselves.*

Nor can any claim for special or general culture avail in defense of those who step beyond their sphere, and pronounce judgment without evidence or information. The question is not, How much do cultured skeptics know in a general way about astronomy, or geology, or ethnology? but, How much do they know of *those things* of which they undertake to *speak* and *write*?

They write of the origin of all things, without having witnessed the origin of anything. They descant upon the making of the stars, or the construction of the globe, when they know neither how they were made or what they are composed of. They

* For a telling exhibition of the gross absurdities of Infidel Astronomical, Geological, and Biological theories, consult *The Errors of Evolution*, by Robert Patterson; to be had of the publishers.

utter wild contradictions of recorded facts, and then when the shovel of the explorer turns up the proof of their ignorance and their error, they make haste to find some new excuse for rejecting that Word which is man's best comfort in this vale of tears, and his light and joy in the shades that shroud the tomb.

The best recommendation of a workman is found in the specimens of first-class work which he has done; the best evidence of the physician's skill is the health of the patients whom he has attended; and the best available proof of the truth of the Bible is, after all, its fruits and results as exhibited in the lives of faithful Christian men. And the keenest weapons which skeptics wield are the inconsistencies, hypocrisies and sectarianisms of disobedient and unbelieving professors of Christianity, who misrepresent Christ, and pervert and distort his truth.

The gospel which Christ proclaimed to men needs neither apology nor defense; but many things which are preached *as* gospel are open to the sharpest and severest criticism, and many things done by those who profess to be Christians bring reproach to the name and cause of God.

The historic evidence of the truth of Scripture is most abundant; but it is no more convincing to the candid mind than the daily walk of upright, faithful Christian men, who have been turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; and who adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. And this evidence can be presented by the unlearned and the lowly. It is embalmed in our cherished memories of those who have finished their course with joy, and it shines forth in the blessed experiences of others who are devoutly following in their steps.

"We have not followed cunningly devised fables," in proclaiming the gospel of Christ. If men seek stronger proof of the truth of Christianity, we say with Coleridge, "TRY IT." We test the genuineness of a bank note by presenting it for payment. in the

same way we can test the truth of the promises of God. He who earnestly seeks God's blessing, according to the directions given, will not fail to find. If Christ does *not* live at God's right hand to hear the penitent and save the lost, and if those who honestly come to Him weary and heavy laden, do *not* find rest to their souls, then the case is closed. But thousands testify that they *have* proved these promises and find them true; and tens of thousands more stand ready to confirm their statements. And their number is constantly increasing. Many of them who have been skeptics and scoffers, now confess that they never found rest or peace till they found salvation in Christ. The line of investigation which they followed is open to others; let them pursue it, and they shall find that if any man really desires to do God's will, he will soon know of the truth of the doctrine which Christ proclaimed.

Therefore, let Christians hold fast the profession of their faith without wavering; teach their households the fear and knowledge of the Lord; diffuse the light of truth among the benighted and misled, and drive skepticism from pillar to post, routing it at every point, and defeating it on every field of conflict, until it is hunted to its last hiding place, "an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God."

And let not the believers in God be deluded by the vain pretenses and hypocritical boasts of skeptics and unbelievers, whose restless hearts can find no peace or confidence in the negations which they assert. Without God, they are without hope; and while they babble of agnosticism and science, let us sound, full and clear, the words of faith and hope, and preach the gospel with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, assured that though the grass may wither, and the flower may fade, yet "the Word of our God shall stand forever."

H. L. H.

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OF THE

OLD TESTAMENT.



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE Religion of the Bible, unlike almost all other religions, has its roots in the region of Fact. Other religious systems are, in the main, ideal, being the speculations of individual minds, or the gradual growth of a nation's fanciful thought during years or centuries. The Religion of the Bible, though embracing much that is in the highest sense ideal, grounds itself upon accounts, which claim to be historical, of occurrences that are declared to have actually taken place upon the earth. That Jesus Christ was born under Herod the Great, at Bethlehem; that He came forward as a Teacher of religion; that He preached and taught, and performed many "mighty works"

Historic character of Biblical Religion.

in Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa during the space of some years; that He was crucified by Pontius Pilate; that He died and was buried; that He rose again from the dead, and ascended before the eyes of his disciples into heaven, — these are the most essential points, the very gist and marrow of the New Testament. And these are all matters of simple fact.¹ And, as with the New Testament, so, or still more strikingly, with the Old. Creation, the Paradisaical state, the Fall, the Flood, the Dispersion of Nations, the Call of Abraham, the Deliverance out of Egypt, the Giving of the Law on Sinai, the conquest of Palestine, the establishment of David's kingdom, the Dispersion of Israel, the Captivity of Judah, the return under Ezra and Nehemiah, — all these are of the nature of actual events, objective facts occurring at

¹ * We are not dependent, therefore, on Christian writers and apologists for our knowledge of the main facts of Christ's life (his birth, claims, teachings, reputed miracles, crucifixion), but learn them from contemporary heathen and Jewish writers (Josephus, Tacitus, Pliny, Suetonius), just as we learn any other historical facts. Yet, on the other hand, we are not to regard the testimony of such heathen witnesses as more satisfactory than that of the early Christian martyrs who renounced heathenism and embraced the Gospel (Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin Martyr); for that is to treat them as less worthy of credence, just because they found the Christian evidences so strong as to be compelled to act upon them at the expense of all possible worldly advantages. Some writers on the Christian evidences really fall into that inconsistency. — H. •

definite times and in definite places, conditioned, like other facts, perceptible to sense, and fitted to be the subject of historic record.

It is this feature of our religion, so markedly characteristic of it, that brings it into contact with historic science, and renders it at once liable to be tested by the laws and canons of historical criticism, and capable of receiving illustration from historic sources. The Scriptural writers, as a general rule, deal, not with doctrines, but with occurrences. The very Prophetic Books have a historic form, and bristle with dates and with the names of contemporary personages. The revelation given to us may, as Butler observes,¹ "be considered as wholly historical." It "contains a kind of abridgment of the history of the world." Though mainly concerned with the religious condition of mankind, it embraces also "an account of the political state of things," giving us "a continual thread of history" of the length of several thousand years. These circumstances permit a comparison between Scriptural and profane history; between the sacred records which are inseparably intertwined with our religion, and the accumulated stores of merely

Hence, a contact between the Bible and profane history.

¹ *Analogy*, part ii. c. vii. pp. 310, 311 (Oxford ed. of 1833).

human knowledge concerning the world's past, which have anyhow come into our possession. It will be the object of the present essay to make this comparison, so far as the Scriptures of the Old Testament are concerned. The "thread of history" Scope of the present work. contained in the earlier portion of our sacred volume will be placed side by side with that account of human affairs which purely secular history furnishes. The various points of contact between the two will be noted, and their agreement, or, if so be, their disagreement, pointed out. It is not intended to conceal or make light of difficulties; but it is believed that they will be found to be inconsiderable. In general it is thought that the harmony between the sacred and the profane will be striking, and that it will be especially evident that the most authentic sources of profane history are those which throw the clearest and brightest light on the sacred narrative. The more exact the knowledge that we obtain, by discovery or critical research, of the remote past, the closer the agreement that we find between profane and Biblical history.

And here a remark of Butler's may well be pressed on the attention of the reader. Butler notes how the historical character of our

sacred records, and especially the great length of time which they cover, and the great extent and variety of the subjects whereof they treat, "gives the largest scope for criticism," and, if the narrative be not true, should

The onus of proving divergence between the Bible and profane history should rest on the adversary.

render the task of confutation easy.¹ It is indeed inconceivable, that if the Biblical history, covering the space of time which it does, and dealing as it does with the affairs of most of the great nations of antiquity, were a fictitious narrative, modern historical science, with its searching methods and its exact and extended knowledge of the past, should not have, long ere this, demonstrated the fact, and completely overthrown the historical authority of the sacred volume. But it is not even pretended that this has been done. Attacks are made on this or that portion of the record, on names and numbers and minute expressions which it is contended are inaccurate; but no one pretends to show, as it should be easy to show, if the history is not true, that it is irreconcilably at variance with the course of mundane events as known to us from other sources. The progress of our knowledge has indeed tended very remarkably of late years in the opposite direc-

¹ *Analogy*, part ii. c. vii. p. 312.

tion. As the stores of antique lore have been unlocked, and our acquaintance with the ancient world has increased in extent, precision, and accuracy, it has become more and more apparent that such a confutation of the historical character of the sacred records is impossible. Each year adds something to the force of the opposite arguments. Discoveries, like that of the Moabite Stone,¹ are made in the most unexpected quarters. If scientific difficulties increase upon us, historical difficulties certainly lessen. Thus, although the *onus probandi* should be on our adversaries, who should be able with so much ease to prove our Books historically untrue, if they were untrue, yet the Christian Apologist may now, without presumption, enter the field himself, and apply himself to the task of confirming faith, or even dispelling doubt, by the exhibition of a harmony which seems to have reached a point that entitles it to take its place among the Evidences of Religion.

¹ * For the history of this Moabite Stone (several times mentioned in this volume) and its value as a historical witness, see Appendix No. 2. — H.

CHAPTER II.

GENESIS.

HISTORY proper cannot rightly be regarded as going back to the first origin of the human race. Of the various acts of Creation which culminated in the formation of man, there could be no human witnesses ; and thus no historical illustration of the first chapter of Genesis is possible. At the utmost, such illustration must commence after the human race has been created. Even then for a considerable space of time history proper is silent. The art of embodying articulate speech in written words appears not to have been invented by man until he had lived for many centuries upon the earth ; and the history of mankind was, consequently, for ages unrecorded, passing down from generation to generation by oral tradition, and, as always happens in such a case, undergoing change in the process, here being slightly modified, there almost wholly transformed, in some cases fading entirely away, and being replaced by fables, the prod-

Absence of strictly historical illustrations for the earliest times.

net of the imagination. The earliest profane records that deserve the name of history do not reach back within two thousand years¹ of the time at which the sacred narrative commences; and, consequently, it is impossible either to test or to illustrate that narrative, in its earlier portion, by a comparison with records which for that period are not forthcoming. The utmost that can be done is to see whether among the traditions of different human races which belong to a time anterior to history proper, there are not some which point to the same facts as those recorded in Scripture, and of whose harmony with the Hebrew accounts no other origin can be reasonably assigned than the common memory of actual facts, witnessed by the ancestors of the different races.

The first great fact in the history of mankind, as placed before us in Genesis, is the primitive innocence of our race, and its existence in a delightful region, the abode of purity and happiness, for a certain space after its creation. A remembrance of this blissful condition seems to have been

Want partly
supplied by
traditions.

Wide-spread
tradition of
Paradise.

¹ This number must be taken merely as a *minimum*. The years assigned in Scripture to the patriarchs, reckoned according to the lowest account, give 2,023 years between the Creation and the call of Abraham. Profane history does not commence till about that time. The LXX. enlarge the interval to 3,279 years, and it may have been still longer.

retained among a large number of peoples. The Greeks told of a "golden age," when men lived the life of the gods, a life free from care, and without labor or sorrow. Old age was unknown; the body never lost its vigor; existence was a perpetual feast, without a taint of evil. The earth brought forth spontaneously all things that were good in profuse abundance; peace reigned, and men pursued their several employments without quarrel. Their happy life was ended by a death which had no pain, but fell upon them like a gentle sleep.¹ In the Zendavesta, Yima, the first Iranic king, lives in a secluded spot, where he and his people enjoy uninterrupted happiness. Neither sin, nor folly, nor violence, nor poverty, nor deformity have entrance into the region; nor does the Evil Spirit for a while set foot there. Amid odoriferous trees and golden pillars dwells the beautiful race, pasturing their abundant cattle on the fertile earth, and feeding on an ambrosial food which never fails them.² In the Chinese books we read, that "during the period of the first heaven, the whole creation enjoyed a state of happiness: everything

¹ Hesiod, *Op. et D.* ll. 109-119.

² *Vendidad*, Farg. ii. §§ 4-41. (See the Author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 341, 2d ed.)

was beautiful ; everything was good ; all beings were perfect in their kind. In this happy age, heaven and earth employed their virtues jointly to embellish nature. There was no jarring in the elements, no inclemency in the air ; all things grew without labor, and universal fertility prevailed. The active and passive virtues conspired together, without any effort or opposition, to produce and perfect the universe.”¹ The literature of the Hindoos tells of a “first age of the world, when justice, in the form of a bull, kept herself firm on her four feet ; virtue reigned ; no good which mortals possessed was mixed with baseness ; and man, free from diseases, saw all his wishes accomplished, and attained an age of four hundred years.”² Traces of a similar belief are found among the Thibetans, the Mongolians, the Cingalese, and others. Even our own Teutonic ancestors had a glimpse of the truth ; though they substituted for the “garden” of Genesis a magnificent drinking-hall, glittering with burnished gold, where the primeval race enjoyed a life of perpetual festivity, quaffing a delicious beverage from golden bowls, and interchanging with one another glad converse and loyal friendship.³

¹ See Faber's *Horæ Mosaicæ*, p. 146.

Kalisch, *Comment on Genesis*, p. 64.

³ *Edda*, Fab. vii.

The races which thus describe the primitive state of man have all of them a tradition of a Fall. With some the Fall is more gradual than with others. Tradition of the Fall.

The Greeks pass by gentle degrees from the golden age of primeval man to the iron one, which is the actual condition of human kind when the first writers lived. The Hindoos, similarly, bring man, through a second and a third age, into that fourth one, which they recognize as existing in their day. But with some races the Fall is sudden. In the Edda, corruption is suddenly produced by the blandishments of strange women, who deprive men of their pristine integrity and purity. In the Thibetan, Mongolian, and Cingalese traditions, a similar result is brought about by the spontaneous development of a covetous temper. In the earliest of the Persian books, the Fall would seem to be gradual;¹ but in the later writings, which are of an uncertain date, a narrative appears which is most strikingly in accordance with that of Genesis. The first man and the first woman live originally in purity and innocence. Perpetual happiness is promised to them by Ormazd, if they persevere in their virtue. They dwell in a garden, wherein there is a tree, on whose fruit

¹ *Vendidad*, Farg. i.

they feed, which gives them life and immortality. But Ahriman, the Evil Principle, envying their felicity, causes another tree to spring up in the garden, and sends a wicked spirit, who, assuming the form of a serpent, persuades them to eat its fruit, and this fruit corrupts them. Evil feelings stir in their hearts; Ahriman becomes the object of their worship instead of Ormazd; they fall under the power of demons, and become a prey to sin and misery. If we could certainly assign this narrative to a time anterior to the contact of Zoroastrianism with Judaism, it would constitute a most remarkable testimony, and as such it has been usual to adduce it.¹ But the fact that it appears only in the later books,² and the very *close* resemblance which it bears to the account given in Genesis, render it probable that we have here, not a primitive tradition, but an infiltration into the Persian system of religious ideas belonging properly to the Hebrews.

The part taken by the serpent, as Satan's

¹ See Kalisch, *Comment. on Genesis*, p. 63; and compare Bishop Harold Browne in the *New Commentary*, p. 48.

* Bishop Browne has there an extended note "On the Historical Character of the Temptation and the Fall." — H.

² The account to which Kalisch and Bishop Browne refer is contained in the *Bundehesht*, which belongs at the earliest to the first century of our era (Haug, *Ueber die Pehlewi Sprache*, p. 80).

instrument in effecting the fall of man, has been regarded by many as the origin of that wide-spread dread and abhorrence in which the serpent was held, especially in the East, and of that very common symbolism by which the same noxious creature was made the special emblem of the Evil Principle. But, as it may with plausibility be argued that the instinctive antipathy of man to the animal, and its power of doing him deadly injury, sufficiently account both for the feeling and for the symbolism, the evidence on the point will not be collected in the present Essay.

The serpent.

Patriarchal longevity presents itself as one of the most striking of the facts concerning mankind which the early history of the Book of Genesis places before us. ^{Tradition of primeval longevity.} Objections are brought against it on grounds which are called scientific.¹ With these the historical illustrator has nothing to do; it is not his place to combat them, though he may feel that they cannot have any great value, as they failed to convince Haller and Buffon. It is his business to inquire how far the history or traditions of mankind confirm or invalidate the fact in question, and to place the result briefly before his readers. Now it

¹ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. iv p. 391.

is beyond a doubt that there is a large amount of consentient tradition to the effect that the life of man was originally far more prolonged than it is at present, extending to at least several hundreds of years.¹ The Babylonians, Egyptians, and Chinese exaggerated these hundreds into thousands. The Greeks and Romans, with more moderation, limited human life within a thousand or eight hundred years. The Hindoos still further shortened the term. Their books taught that in the first age of the world man was free from diseases, and live ordinarily four hundred years; in the second age the term of life was reduced from four hundred to three hundred; in the third it became two hundred; and in the fourth and last it was brought down to one hundred. So certain did the fact appear to the Chinese, that an Emperor who wrote a medical work proposed an inquiry into the reasons why the ancients attained to so much more advanced an age than the moderns.²

The early invention of the arts, recorded in Gen. iv., is in harmony with the Greek tradition, according to which Prometheus, in the infancy of our race, not only “stole fire from heaven,” but taught

Early inven-
tion of the arts.

¹ See *Aids to Faith*, Essay vi. § 5, pp. 278, 279.

² Couplet, quoted by Faber, *Horæ Mosaicæ*, p. 120.

men "all the arts, helps, and ornaments of life,"¹ especially the working in metals. It is in equal agreement with the Babylonian legend of Oannes,² who, long before the Flood, instructed the Chaldæans both in art and in science, "so that no grand discovery was ever made afterwards." And it receives confirmation from the fact that both in Egypt and in Babylonia the earliest extant remains, which go back to a time that cannot be placed long after the Flood, show signs of a tolerably advanced civilization, and particularly of the possession of metallic tools and implements.

The Flood described by the writer of Genesis, in his eighth chapter, is now generally allowed, even by skeptics, to have been an historical event. A few persons indeed still speak of it as a myth, and believe "all good critics" to be of their opinion;³ but when such writers as Bunsen and Kalisch maintain the historical character of the catastrophe, the Biblical apologist may well assume that the point is conceded. He must not, however, suppose that all controversy on the subject is at an end. The dispute has merely entered upon a new

Traditions of a Deluge among all the chief races of mankind.

¹ Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 68, ed. of 1862.

² Berosus, *Fr. i. § 1.*

³ Davidson, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, vol. i. p. 187

phase. The prevalent modern skepticism, forced by the weight of traditional evidence to allow the reality of the Noachian Deluge, makes light of it as a mere partial catastrophe, affecting only one or two races, and so as of no great consequence in the history of mankind. It is of the essence of the Biblical narrative that the Deluge was, so far as the human race was concerned, universal, — that it destroyed all men then living, except the inmates of the ark, and that the present human race is wholly descended from those inmates. The testimony of tradition has been alleged in support of the view that only some races were affected by it ; but an unprejudiced consideration of the whole evidence clearly shows that the tradition is common to all the chief divisions of the human family. That it was generally held by the Semites and the Indo-Europeans (or Aryans), is granted ;¹ but it is said to have been unknown to the Hamites, and to the Turanians. Were this true, the fact would be remarkable, and would go far to prove the assertions that have been based upon it. But the alleged fact is really the reverse of the truth. The Egyptians, the leading representatives of the Hamites, taught, ‘ not that there had been no deluge, but **that**

¹ Bunsen, *Egypt*, etc., vol. iv. p. 464.

there had been several. They believed that from time to time, in consequence of the anger of the gods, the earth was visited by a terrible catastrophe. The agent of destruction was sometimes fire, sometimes water. In the conflagrations, all countries were burnt up but Egypt, which was protected by the Nile; and in the deluges, all were submerged but Egypt, where rain never fell. The last catastrophe, they said, had been a deluge,"¹ which took place about eight thousand years before the visit of Solon to Amasis. It may be true that in the recovered literature of ancient Egypt no trace appears of the belief in question; but the force of this negative argument is far too slight to invalidate the positive testimony of Plato.²

[* The history of a general inundation, as related in the Mahâbhârata and other Indian Asiatic writings, affords an unmistakable agreement with the Mosaic writings. In the translation of a part of that work out of the Sanskrit, the eminent orientalist, Prof. Bopp, states the substance of the story as follows: "The Lord of creatures, Brahmâ, the highest

¹ See Plato, *Timæus*, p. 21; and compare *Aids to Faith*, Essay vi. § 2, pp. 265, 266.

² * For additional reasons for thinking that the Egyptians had a knowledge of Noah's Flood, see note of Mr. Burgess in the Amer. ed. of Smith's *Bible Dict.* vol. i. p. 2187. — H.

existence, appeared to a pious king named Manus, and announced to him the impending deluge, which was to destroy everything. He commanded him to build a ship and in the time of danger to enter it, and to take with him seeds of all kinds, as they would be named to him, separated from one another. Manus obeyed the command of the deity, and brought all seeds into the ship, into which he himself then entered. But the ship, guided by the deity, swam many years upon the sea, until it finally settled upon the highest summit of the mountain Himawân (Himalaya), when it was bound fast at the command of the deity. This summit is therefore still named, at this day, Nau-Bandhanann (*i. e.* ship-binding); and from Manus descends the present race of mankind.”^{1]}

With respect to the Turanians, the evidence of belief in a general deluge is abundant. In the Chinese traditions, “Fa-he, the reputed founder of Chinese civilization, is represented as escaping from the waters of a deluge; and he reappears as the first man at the production of a renovated world, attended by *his wife, three sons, and three daughters.*”² The aboriginal races of America, now generally al-

¹ * Translated by the writer from Auberlen's *Die Göttliche Offenbarung* in the *Bibl. Sacra*, xxii. p. 422 f. — H.

² Hardwick, *Christ and other Masters*, part iii. p. 16.

lowed to be Turanians, held a deluge almost universally. The Mexicans had paintings, representing the event, which showed a man and woman in a boat, or on a raft, a mountain rising above the waters, and a *dove* delivering the gift of language to the children of the saved pair.¹ The Cherokee Indians had a legend of the destruction of mankind by a deluge, and of the preservation of a single family in a boat, to the construction of which they had been incited by a dog.² In the islands of the Pacific, when first discovered by Europeans, a similar belief prevailed. "Traditions of the Deluge," says Mr. Ellis, "have been found to exist among the natives of the South Sea Islands, from the earliest periods of their history. The principal facts are the same in the traditions prevailing among the inhabitants of the different groups, although they differ in several minor particulars. In one group the accounts stated that Taarsa, the principal god according to their mythology, being angry with men on account of their disobedience to his will, overturned the world into the sea, when the earth sunk in the waters, excepting a few projecting points, which, remaining above its surface, constituted the

¹ Prescott, *History of Mexico*, vol. iii. pp. 309, 310.

² Hardwick, part iii. pp. 163, 164.

present cluster of islands. The memorial preserved by the inhabitants of Eimeo states, that, after the inundation of the land, when the water subsided, a man landed from a canoe near Tiatarpua, in their island, and *erected an altar* in honor of his god. The tradition which prevails in the Leeward Islands is intimately connected with the island of Raiatea." Here the story was that a fisherman disturbed the sea-god with his hooks, whereupon the god determined to destroy mankind. The fisherman, however, obtained mercy, and was directed to take refuge in a certain small islet, whither he betook himself with his wife, child, one friend, and *specimens of all the domestic animals*. The sea then rose and submerged all the other islands, destroying all the inhabitants. But the fisherman and his companions were unharmed, and afterwards removing from their islet to Raiatea, became the progenitors of the present people.¹ Again, the Fiji islanders have a very clear and distinct tradition of a deluge, from which one family only, *eight in number*, was saved in a canoe.²

[* Such traditions of a flood, says Lücken, "are, if possible, more common in the New

¹ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. ii. pp. 57-59.

² Hardwick, part iii. p. 185.

World than in the Old. The form in which the natives relate them agrees so strikingly with the traits of the Bible history, that we cannot blame the astonished Spaniards, the first European discoverers, if they were ready to believe, on account of these and similar traditions, that the Apostle Thomas must have preached Christianity there. Between the banks of the Cassiquiare and the Orinoco, hieroglyphic figures are often seen at great heights, on rocky cliffs, which could be accessible only by constructing very lofty scaffolds. When the natives are asked how these figures could be sculptured, they answer with a smile, as if relating a fact of which a white man only could be ignorant, that at the period of the great waters, their fathers went to that height in boats.”¹]

To conclude, therefore, that the Deluge, in respect of mankind, was partial, because some of the great divisions of the human family had no tradition on the subject, is to draw a conclusion directly in the teeth of the evidence. The evidence shows a consentient belief—a belief which has all the appearance of being original and not derived—among members of ALL the great races into which ethnologists

¹ * See the writer's *Translation* from Auberlen in *Bibl. Sacra*, xxii. p. 422. The article contains other similar testimonies.—H

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have divided mankind. Among the Semites, the Babylonians, and the Hebrews — among the Hamites, the Egyptians — among the Aryans, the Indians, the Armenians, the Phrygians, the Lithuanians, the Goths, the Celts, and the Greeks — among the Turanians, the Chinese, the Mexicans, the Red Indians, and the Polynesian islanders, held the belief, which has thus the character of a universal tradition — a tradition of which but one rational account can be given, namely, that it embodies the recollection of a fact in which all mankind was concerned.

It is remarkably confirmatory of the Biblical narrative to find that it unites details, scattered up and down the various traditional accounts, but nowhere else found in combination. It begins with the warning, which we find also in the Babylonian, the Hindoo, and the Cherokee Indian versions. It comprises the care for animals, which is a feature of the Babylonian, the Indian and of one of the Polynesian stories. It reckons the saved as eight, as do the Fiji and Chinese traditions; as in the Chinese story, these eight are a man, his wife, his three sons, and three daughters-in-law (or daughters). In assigning a prominent part to birds in the experiments made before quitting the ark, it accords (once more) especially with

the tradition of the Babylonians. In its mention of the dove, it possesses a feature preserved also by the Greeks and by the Mexicans. The olive-branch it has in common with the Phrygian legend, as appears from the famous medal struck at Apamea Cibotus.¹ Finally, in its record of the building of an altar (Gen. viii. 20), immediately after the saved quitted the ark, it has a touch which forms equally a portion of the Babylonian and of one Polynesian story.

Altogether, the conclusion seems irresistibly forced upon us that the Hebrew is the authentic narrative, of which the remainder are more or less corrupted versions. It is impossible to derive the Hebrew account from any of the other stories, while it is quite possible to derive all of them from it. Suppose the Deluge a fact, and suppose its details to have been such as the author of Genesis declares them to have been, then the wide-spread generally accordant, but in part divergent, tradition is exactly what might have been anticipated under the circumstances. No other theory gives even a plausible explanation of the phenomena.²

¹ A representation of this medal is given in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 572; and vol. iii. p. 2184, Amer. ed. It belongs to the time of Septimius Severus, but is a purely heathen, not a Christian or Jewish monument.

² * Since the publication of this volume a very important con-

The narrative of the Flood is followed in the Book of Genesis by an account of the repopulating of the earth by the descendants of Noah, whereof the first feature which strikes us is the enumeration of the various races under *three* heads — “the sons of Japhet” (Gen. x. 3); “the sons of Ham” (ver. 6); and “the sons of Shem” (ver. 22). It is not distinctly declared that the three groups were separated by ethnic differences; but, given the existence of ethnic differences, it is natural to conclude that the nations declared to be cognate are those between which there was most resemblance, and consequently that the document may be regarded as an ethnological arrangement of mankind under three heads. Now here it is at once noteworthy, that modern ethnological science, having set itself by a careful analysis of facts to establish a classification of races, has similarly formed a triple division of mankind, and speaks of all races as either Semitic, Aryan, or Turanian (Allophyl-ian).¹ Moreover, when we examine the

confirmation of the Mosaic account of the Deluge has been brought to light by Mr. George Smith, of the British Museum, London. It deserves a fuller notice than can be given to it in a note here. See Appendix No. 1, at the end of the book, for a summary of the contents of this new Assyrian inscription. — H.

¹ See Prichard, *Physical History of Mankind*; Bunsen, *Philosophy of Universal History*; Max Müller, *Languages of the Seat of War*, etc.

Conclusions of modern ethnology anticipated in the genealogy of the sons of Noah.

groups which the author of the tenth chapter of Genesis has thrown together, we find, to say the least, a most remarkable agreement between the actual arrangement which he has made, and the conclusions to which ethnological inquirers have come from a consideration of the facts of human language and physical type. Setting aside the cases where the ethnic names employed are of doubtful application, it cannot reasonably be questioned that the author has in his account of the sons of Japhet, classified together the Cymry or Celts (Gomer), the Medes (Madai), and the Ionians or Greeks (Javan), thereby anticipating what has become known in modern times as "the Indo-European theory," or the essential unity of the Aryan (Asiatic) race with the principal races of Europe, indicated by the Celts and the Ionians. Nor can it be doubted that he has thrown together, under the one head of "children of Shem," the Assyrians (Asshur), the Syrians (Aram), the Hebrews (Eber), and the Joktanian Arabs (Joktan), four of the principal races which modern ethnology recognizes under the heading of "Semitic." Again, under the heading of "sons of Ham," the author has arranged "Cush," *i. e.* the Ethiopians; "Mizraim," the people of Egypt; "Sheba and Dedan," or certain of the south-

ern Arabs; and "Nimrod," or the ancient people of Babylon; four races between which the latest linguistic researches have established a close affinity. Beyond a question, the tendency of modern ethnological inquiry has been to establish the accuracy of the document called in Genesis the *Toldoth Beni Noah*, or "Genealogy of the sons of Noah" (chap. x.),¹ and to create a feeling among scientific ethnologists that it is a record of the very highest value; one which, if it can be rightly interpreted, may be thoroughly trusted, and which is, as one of them has said, "the most authentic record that we possess for the affiliation of nations."²

When the re-peopling of the earth by the descendants of Noah had reached a certain point, the Biblical narrative informs us that a remarkable event produced their dispersion. The progeny of Noah, leaving the district of Ararat, where the ark had rested, occupied "the land of

Traditions of
the Tower of
Babel and con-
fusion of
tongues.

¹ * The celebrated geographer, Dr. Karl Ritter, declared that of all the writings of antiquity none are receiving such confirmation from the modern researches in geography and ethnography as this tenth chapter of Genesis and the works of Herodotus. — H.

² Sir H. Rawlinson, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 230. Compare Kalisch (*Comment. on Genesis*, p. 194), who speaks of "this unparalleled list, the combined result of reflection and deep research, and no less valuable as a historical document than as a lasting proof of the brilliant capacity of the Hebrew mind."

Shinar," or the great alluvial plain towards the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. Here they resolved to build themselves a city, and a tower "whose top should reach to heaven," apparently as a centre of unity. But it was the design of Providence that they should spread, form numerous nations, and so "replenish the earth." Accordingly, by miracle, their language was confounded, and they left off to build the city, and, being scattered abroad, fulfilled the intentions of their Maker. Of this remarkable circumstance in the history of mankind, a traditional remembrance seems to have been retained among a certain number of nations. In Babylon itself, especially, the great city of the land of Shinar, there was a belief which is thus expressed by those who had studied its records: "At this time—not long after the Flood—the ancient race of men were so puffed up with their strength and tallness of stature, that they began to despise and condemn the gods, and labored to erect that very lofty tower which is now called Babylon, intending thereby to scale heaven. But when the building approached the sky, behold, the gods called in the aid of the winds, and by their help overturned the tower and cast it to the ground! The name of the ruin is still called

Babel ; because until this time all men had used the same speech, but now there was sent upon them a confusion of many and divers tongues.”¹ It may have been also a recollection of the event, though one much dimmed and faded, which gave rise to the Greek myth of the war between the gods and the giants, and the attempt of the latter to scale heaven by piling one mountain upon another.

A further tangible evidence of the confusion of man’s speech in Babylonia, or, at any rate, a fact which harmonizes completely with the Scriptural statement that Babylonia was the scene of the confusion, is to be found in the character of the language which appears on the earliest monuments of the country — monuments which reach back to a time probably as remote as B. C. 2300, and almost certainly anterior to the date of Abraham. This monumental language is especially remarkable for its *mixed* character. It is Turanian in its structure, Cushite or Ethiopian in the bulk of its vocabulary, while, at the same time, it appears to contain both Semitic and Aryan elements. The people who spoke it must, it would seem, have been living in close

¹ Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 14. Compare Alex. Polyhist. ap. eundem, ix. 15.

Early Babylonian language indicative of variety of speech in the country.

contact with Aryan and Semitic races, while they were themselves Turanian, or Turano-Cushite, and must have adopted from those races a certain number of terms. This would be natural if the varieties of human speech were first found in Babylonia, and if the dispersion of mankind took place from thence, for some portions of a race that migrates almost always remain in the original country. It must be added that, except in Babylonia, a mixed character is not observable in such early languages as are known to us, which are commonly either distinctly Turanian, distinctly Aryan, or distinctly Semite.

History proper, which has been defined to be "the history of states,"¹ first dawns upon us in the tenth chapter of Genesis, where we hear for the first time of a "kingdom," of cities, and of a "mighty one," who appears to have established an important monarchy (Gen. x. 8-10). The founder of this monarchy bears the name of Nimrod; its site is the land of Shinar, or Babylonia; its ethnic character is Cushite, or Ethiopian, for Nimrod is "the son" (*i. e.* descendant) "of Cush;" its great cities are four, Babel (or Babylon), Erech, Accad, and

Early Cushite
kingdom in
Babylonia
proved by the
monuments.

¹ Heeren, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Staaten des Alterthums*, § 1.

Calneh. Here, then, we come for the **first** time upon something which history proper ought to be able to test, and here, consequently, we ask with interest, "What has history to tell us? Does it indicate that we are on firm ground; that we have to do with realities, with actual solid facts?" The answer must most certainly be in the affirmative. Recent researches in Mesopotamia have revealed to us, as the earliest seat of power and civilization in Western Asia, a Cushite kingdom,¹ the site of which is Lower Babylonia, a main characteristic of which is its possession of large cities, and which even seems in an especial way to affect, in its political arrangements, the number *four*. Babel, Accad, and Erech (or Huruk), are names which occur in the early geographic nomenclature of this monarchy. Nimrod is a personage in its mythology. The records discovered do not, probably, mount up within some centuries of the foundation of the kingdom; but they present us with a picture in perfect harmony with the Scriptural narrative — a picture of a state such as that set up by Nimrod would be likely

¹ The Cushite character of the primitive Babylonian monarchy is proved by the close analogy of the language with that of the aboriginal races of Abyssinia, the Galla, Wolaiitsa, etc.

to have become two or three centuries after its foundation.¹

Intimately connected with the account given in Gen. x. of the Babylonian kingdom of Nimrod, is a sketch of a sister, or daughter, kingdom in an adjoining region. "Out of that land" — the land of Shinar — we are told, "went forth Asshur,² and builded Nineveh, and the streets of the city, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city." If this rendering of the original be correct,³

Relations of Assyria to Babylonia really such as stated in Genesis.

¹ * The modern Arabs ascribe to Nimrod all the great works of modern times, such as the *Birs-Nimrūd* near Babylon, *Tel-Nimrūd* near Bagdad, the dam of *Sur el-Nimrūd* across the Tigris below *Mosul*, and the well-known mound of *Nimrūd* in the same neighborhood (Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. iii. p. 2557, Amer. ed.). In these traditions we catch again glimpses of the great city-builder and warrior shadowed forth to us in the Bible-story. — H.

² * In the margin (A. V.) it is, "he" (Nimrod) "went out into Assyria;" and so De Wette, Tuch, Knobel, Delitsch, Kalisch, and others; the other rendering is approved by the Sept., Vulg., Luther, Calvin, and many of the older writers. But whether Nimrod or Asshur be the subject of the verb is not material to the point at issue; for essentially the same ethnographic and linguistic affiliation is proved in the one case as the other. — H.

³ The rendering is that of the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the ancient Syriac versions. It is approved by J. D. Michaelis, by Dathe, Rosenmüller, and Von Bohlen. Kalisch and others prefer the rendering in the margin of our Bibles.

* Our English Bible has also here "the streets of the city," in the margin, but "the city Rehoboth" in the text. The former perhaps suggests an idea of the greatness of Nineveh (Jon. iii. 3; iv. 11) which the other does not, but seems out of place here where all the accompanying terms are proper names. Most critics prefer "Rehoboth-Ir," the name of a distinct city of

we have here a statement that Asshur, or the Assyrian nation, having previously dwelt in Babylonia, "went out," or retired before the Cushites, and, proceeding to the northward, founded at some subsequent time the great Assyrian cities, Nineveh, Calah, and Resen. In a later part of the chapter, the Assyrians are declared to be Semites (ver. 22), closely connected by blood with the Syrians and the Hebrews. Of this entire account, the most remarkable points are, (1) the contrast of ethnic character noted as existing between the two neighboring peoples; (2) the priority ascribed to Babylon over Nineveh, and to the primitive Babylonian over the Assyrian kingdom; and (3) the derivation of the Assyrians from Babylonia, or, in other words, the statement that having been originally inhabitants of the low country, they emigrated northwards, leaving their previous seats to a people of a different origin. Till within a few years these statements seemed to involve great difficulties. Almost all ancient writers spoke of the Babylonians and Assyrians as kindred races, if not even as one people. Those who professed to be acquainted with their early

that neighborhood, and one of the dependencies of Nineveh. See De Wette's *Uebersetzung des A. Test.*, and Arnaud's *French Version* (1866). See Dr. Conant on *Genesis* x. 11. — H.

history declared that Assyria was the original seat of empire; that Nineveh was built before Babylon; and that the latter city owed its origin to an Assyrian princess, who conquered the country and built there a provincial capital.¹ It is one of the main results of the recent Mesopotamian researches to have entirely demolished this view, which rests really on the sole authority of Ctesias. The recovered monuments show that the Mosaical account is, in all respects, true. The *early* Babylonians are proved to have been of an entirely distinct race from the Assyrians, whose language is Semitic, while that of their southern neighbors is Cushite. A Babylonian kingdom is found to have flourished for centuries before there was any independent Assyria, or any such city as Nineveh.² With respect to the movement of the Assyrians northwards, the evidence is less direct; but there are not wanting some decided indications of it. The character of the Assyrian architecture is such as to render it almost certain that their style was formed in a low, flat alluvium, like that of Chaldæa. Their mode of writing, and most of their religion, are derived from the Baby-

¹ See Diod. Sic. ii. 1-20.

² See Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient* tom. ii. pp. 16-43.

lonian. They themselves always regard Babylon as the true home of most of their gods, and are anxious to sacrifice at Babylonian shrines, as those at which the gods are most accessible. There is reason to believe that in many instances the Assyrians transported their dead into Babylonia, anxious that they should rest in what they regarded as their true country.¹ The spread of the race, after their native history commences, is northwards, and the capital is twice moved in this direction — from Asshur (Kileh-Sherghat) to Calah (Nimrud), and from Calah to Nineveh (Koyunjik). Altogether, though the evidence on the third point is merely circumstantial, it is perhaps as convincing to a candid mind as the direct testimony which establishes the former two.

From the general account of mankind, which has occupied him for eleven chapters, the author of Genesis turns, in ch. xii., to the history of an individual, the progenitor of the chosen race, to which God gave the first written revelation. It was not to be expected that profane history would take notice of this personage, who was of small account, excepting to

Some points in the history of Abraham receive illustration from profane history.

¹ Arrian. *Exp. Alex.* vii. 22; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 199.

a single insignificant people, namely, the Hebrews. Josephus indeed imagined that the Babylonian history of Berosus contained a mention of him ;¹ but this is, at any rate, uncertain ; and the only satisfactory illustrations from profane sources, of which the history of Abraham admits, will concern persons and countries with which he was brought into contact rather than himself or his own adventures.² On two occasions in his life the patriarch came into connection with royal personages, and with countries which play an important part in the world's early history. We may reasonably inquire whether these countries and personages are represented agreeably to the tenor of ancient history, or the contrary.

The first of the two occasions is the following. Abraham is living as a nomad chief in Palestine, when there occurs a severe famine, which induces him to take refuge in Egypt. There the king of the country, who is called Pharaoh,

Condition of
Egypt in the
time of Abra-
ham.

¹ *Ant. Jud.* i. 7, § 2.

² Accounts of Abraham were given by several of the later Greek writers, as Eupolemus, Artapanus, Nicolaus Damascenus, and others ; but these writers drew probably from Genesis (see Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures* for 1859, p. 70).

* An American edition of the *Lectures* was published by Gould and Lincoln, Boston, 1860. — H.

hearing of the beauty of Abraham's wife, whom he has represented as his sister, sends for her, intending to marry her; but before the marriage is consummated, discovering her real relationship to the patriarch, he rebukes him and sends the pair away. The narrative is very brief; but we learn from it: (1.) That Egypt was already under a settled government, having a king, and "princes" who acted as the king's subordinates. (2.) That the name or title of the monarch was one which to the ears of the Hebrews sounded "Pha-ra-oh." (3.) That the country was one to which recourse was naturally had by the inhabitants of neighboring lands in a time of scarcity. Now on all these points the sacred narrative is in harmony with profane sources. History Proper, the "history of states," begins with Egypt, where there is reason to believe that a settled government was established, and monarchical institutions set up, at an earlier date than in any other country.¹

¹ Herodotus, Diodorus, and the Greek writers generally give an antiquity to the Egyptian kingdom very much beyond that which they ascribe to any other. An extreme antiquity was claimed by the Egyptians themselves. Among moderns, some allow these extreme claims. Even those who most decidedly disallow them still admit the priority of the Egyptian over all other known kingdoms.

That a name, or title, near to Pharaoh, might be borne by an Egyptian king, appears from Herodotus;¹ and modern hieroglyphic research has pointed out more than one suitable title,² which Hebrews might represent by the characters found in Genesis. The character of Egypt as a granary of surrounding nations is notorious; and this character has attached to her throughout the entire course of her history. The narrative of Gen. xii. 10-20, therefore, brief as it is, contains at least three points capable of confirmation or refutation from profane sources, and on all these points those sources confirm it.

The other event in the life of Abraham which receives some illustration from profane history, is the account which is given in Gen. xiv. of his rescue of Lot, his nephew, from the hands of Chedor-laomer, king of Elam. It appears, by the narrative of this chapter, that in the in-

Power of Elam
and name of
Chedor-laomer.

¹ Herod. ii. 111.

² "Pharaoh" has been explained as *Ph' ouro*, "the king"; and again as *Ph' Ra*, "the Sun," which was a title borne by many Egyptian monarchs. But the best hieroglyphical scholars now regard it as the equivalent of the Egyptian *Perua*, or *Perao*, "the great house," which is "the regular title of the Egyptian kings" (*De Rougé*).

* "Pharaoh" has its analogy therefore, in that of "Sublime Porte" as one of the titles of the Grand Sultan of Turkey. At all events it is not to be regarded as a proper name. — H.

terval between the time of Nimrod and that of Abraham, power had passed from the hands of the Babylonians into those of a neighboring nation, the Elamites, who exercised a suzerainty over the lower Mesopotamian country, and felt themselves strong enough to make warlike expeditions into the distant land of Palestine. The king of Elam in the time of Abraham was Chedor-laomer (Chedol-logomer LXX.). Assisted by his vassal-monarchs, Amraphel, king of Shinar, Arioch, king of Ellasar (or Larsa), and Tidal (or Thargal LXX.), "king of nations," he invaded Palestine, defeated the princes of the country in a battle near the Dead Sea, and forced them to become his subjects. After twelve years, however, they revolted, and a second expedition was led by Chedor-laomer into the country, which resulted in another defeat of the Palestinian monarchs, in the plunder of Sodom and Gomorrha, and in the capture of Lot. Upon hearing of this, Abraham armed his servants, three hundred and eighteen in number, and assisted by a body of Amorites, went in pursuit of the retiring army, hung on its rear, dealt it some severe blows, and recovered his nephew, together with many other prisoners and much booty.

Of the actual expeditions here narrated,

profane history contains no account. But the change in the position of Babylon, the rise of the Elamites to power and preëminence, and the occurrence about this time of Elamitic expeditions into Palestine or the adjacent districts, are witnessed to by documents recently disinterred from the mounds of Mesopotamia. The name, too, of the Elamitic king, though not yet actually found on any monument, is composed of elements both of which occur in Elamite documents separately, and is of a type exactly similar to other Elamitic names of the period. To give the evidence more fully, it is stated in an inscription of Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon, that 1635 years before his own capture of Susa, or about B. C. 2286, Kudur-Nakhunta, then king of Elam, led an expedition into Babylonia, took the towns, plundered the temples, and carried off the images of the gods to his own capital, where they remained to the time of the Assyrian conquest.¹ From Babylonian documents of a date not much later (B. C. 2200–2100), it appears that an Elamitic dynasty had by that time been established in Babylonia itself, and that a king called Kudur-Mabuk, an Elamite prince, who held his court at

¹ G. Smith in *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, November 1868, p. 116.

Ur, in Lower Chaldæa, carried his arms so far to the westward, that he took the title of "Ravager of the West," or "Ravager of Syria," — a title which is found inscribed upon his bricks. The element *Kudur*, which commences the name of this prince, and also that of Kudur-Nakhunta, is identical with the Hebrew *Chedor*, while *Lagamer* is elsewhere found as an Elamitic god, which is the case also with *Mabuk* and *Nakhunta*. Thus Chedor-laomer (Kudur-Lagamer) is a name of exactly the same type with Kudur-Nakhunta and Kudur-Mabuk; its character is thoroughly Elamitic; and it is appropriate to the time at which the writer of Genesis places the monarch bearing it.

The events related from the fourteenth to the thirty-ninth chapter of Genesis are altogether of so private a nature, that profane history could scarcely be expected to notice them. Our information moreover with respect to the time is scanty, and scarcely extends to Palestine, the scene of the events narrated. When, however, we come to the history of Joseph, we are once more brought into contact with the important kingdom of Egypt, a kingdom of which, even at this remote date, we have considerable knowledge. derived in part from

No further illustration till the time of Joseph.

ancient authors, in part from the native monuments, which occasionally (it is believed) reach back to this remote period. Here, then, profane history may once more be applied to test the veracity of the narrative; and it may be inquired whether the Egypt of Joseph agrees or disagrees with the Ancient Egypt of the monuments and the old classical writers.

Now the chief features of the Egypt depicted in the later chapters of Genesis seem to be the following: The monarchy, noted in Gen. xii., continues. The king still bears the title of "Pharaoh." He is absolute, or nearly so, committing men to prison (xl. 3), and releasing them (Ib. 21), or, if he please, ordering their execution (Ib. 22); appointing officers over the whole land, and taxing it apparently at his pleasure (Ib. 34); raising a foreigner suddenly to the second position in the kingdom, and requiring all, without exception, to render him obedience (Ib. 41-44). At the same time the king has counselors, or ministers, "elders of his house" (l. 7), and others, whose advice he asks, and without whose sanction he does not seem to act in important matters (xli. 37, 38). His court is organized after the fashion of later Oriental monarchies. He has a body-guard, under a commander or

Minute description of Egypt in the later chapters of Genesis.

“captain,” one of whose chief duties is to execute the sentences which he pronounces upon offenders (xxxvii. 36). He has a train of confectioners, at the head of whom is a “chief confectioner” (xl. 2), and a train of cup-bearers, at the head of whom is a “chief cup-bearer” (Ib.). He rides in a chariot, and all men bow the knee before him (xli. 43). The state of Egypt is one of somewhat advanced civilization. There are distinct classes of soldiers (xxxvii. 36), priests (xlvi. 22), physicians (l. 2), and herdsmen (xlvi. 34; xlvii. 6). There is also a class of “magicians” (xli. 8), or “sacred scribes,” who may be either a subdivision of the priests, or form a distinct profession. The name given to this last class implies that writing is practiced. Among other indications of advance in civilization are, the mention of “fine linen,” as worn by some (Ib. 42), of a golden neck-chain (Ib.), a silver drinking-cup (xliv. 2), wagons (xlv. 21), chariots (l. 9), a coffin, or mummy-case (Ib. 26), and the practice of embalming (Ib. 2, 26). Among special peculiarities of the nation are (1), the position of the priests, which is evidently very exalted (xli. 45), and more particularly their privilege with respect to their lands, which they hold by a different tenure from the rest of the

people (xlvi. 22) ; (2) the existence of customs implying strong feelings with respect to purity and impurity, and a great dread of material defilement (xliii. 32) ; (3), a special dislike, or contempt, for the occupation of herdsmen ; and (4), a greater liberty with respect to the intermixture of the sexes than is common in the East, with a consequent licentiousness in the conduct of the women (xxxix. 7-12). Other noticeable points are, the great fertility of the soil, the existence of numerous granaries (xli. 56), the practice of carrying burdens upon the head (xl. 16) ; the use, by the monarch, of a signet-ring (xli. 42) ; the employment of bought slaves (xxxix. 1) ; the importation of spices from Arabia (xxvii. 25) ; the use of stewards (xxxix. 41 ; xliv. 1) ; the washing of guests' feet (xliii. 24) ; the practice of sitting at meals (Ib. 38) ; the use of wine (xl. 11 ; xliii. 34), and meat (xliii. 16) ; and the employment of some mode, which is not explained, of divination by cups (xliv. 5).

It may be broadly stated that in this entire description there is not a single feature which is out of harmony with what we know of the Egypt of this remote period from other sources. Nay, more, almost every point in it is confirmed either by the classical writers, by the monu-

ments, or by both. The king's absolute authority appears abundantly from Herodotus, Diodorus, and others.

Complete confirmation of the description from profane sources.

He enacted laws, imposed taxes, administered justice, executed and pardoned offenders at his pleasure.¹ He had a body guard, which is constantly seen on the sculptures, in close attendance upon his person.² He was assisted in the management of state affairs by the advice of a council, consisting of the most able and distinguished members of the priestly order.³ His court was magnificent, and comprised various grand functionaries, whose tombs are among the most splendid of the early remains of Egyptian art.⁴ When he left his palace for any purpose, he invariably rode in a chariot. His subjects, wherever he appeared, bowed down or prostrated themselves.⁵ With respect to the early civilization of Egypt, it is especially noted by those conversant with the subject, that the earliest sculptures extant, even those anterior to the pyramid period, which can scarcely be later than

¹ See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 22, 23; and compare Herod. ii. 136, 177; Diod. Sic. i. 79, etc.

² Rosellini, *Monumenti dell' Egitto*, vol. ii. pp. 201, 202.

³ Diod. Sic. i. 73.

⁴ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, tom. i. pp. 333, 334.

⁵ Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 24. "These prostrations," he says, "are frequently represented in the sculptures."

B. C. 2400 or 2300, contain traces of a progress and advance which are most striking, and indeed surprising. "We see no primitive mode of life," says Sir G. Wilkinson, "no barbarous customs; not even the habit, so slowly abandoned by all people, of wearing arms when not on military service; nor any archaic art. . . . In the tombs of the pyramid-period are represented the same fishing and fowling scenes; the rearing of cattle, and wild animals of the desert; the scribes using the same kind of reed for writing on the papyrus; the same boats; the same mode of preparing for the entertainment of guests; the same introduction of music and dancing; the same trades, as glass-blowers, cabinet-makers, and others; as well as similar agricultural scenes, implements, and granaries."¹ "Les représentations de cette tombe," says M. Lenormant, speaking of one more ancient than the Great Pyramid, "nous montrent la civilisation Egyptienne aussi complètement organisée qu'elle l'était au moment de la conquête des Perses ou de celle des Macédoniens, avec une physionomie complètement individuelle et les marques d'une longue existence

¹ See the same writer in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 291, 2d edition.

antérieure.”¹ This civilization comprises the practice of writing, the distinction into classes or castes, the peculiar dignity of the priests, the practice of embalming and of burying in wooden coffins or mummy-cases,² the manufacture and use of linen garments, the wearing of gold chains, and almost all the other points which have been noted in the Mosaic description. The priests’ privilege with respect to lands, which cannot be proved from the monuments, is mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus;³ and the former distinctly states that the general proprietorship of the land was vested in the king. The same writer witnesses to the strong feeling of the Egyptians with respect to “uncleanness,” and to their fear of contracting defilement by contact with foreigners.⁴ The Egyptian contempt for herdsmen appears abundantly on the monuments, where they are commonly represented as dirty and unshaven, and sometimes

¹ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire*, tom. i. p. 334.

* “The representations of this tomb,” says M. Lenormant, “show us the civilization of Egypt as completely organized as it was at the moment of the conquest of the Persians, with a physiognomy altogether peculiar and the marks of a long anterior existence.” — H.

² The coffin of Mycerinus, discovered in the third pyramid (which belongs to about B. C. 2300–2200), was of sycamore wood.

³ Herod. ii. 168 (compare 109), Diod. Sic. i. 73.

⁴ Herod. ii. 45.

even caricatured as a deformed and unseemly race.¹ The liberty allowed to women is likewise seen on the monuments, where in the representation of entertainments, we find men and women frequently sitting together, both strangers and also members of the same family;² and that this liberty was liable to degenerate into license, appears both from what Herodotus says of the character of Egyptian women,³ and from the story told in the Papyrus d'Orbiney,⁴ entitled "The Two Brothers," where the wife of the elder brother acts towards the younger almost exactly as the wife of Potiphar towards Joseph.⁵ The practice of men carrying burdens on the head, both appears on the monuments and is also noticed by Herodotus;⁶ that of sitting at meals, which was unlike the patriarchal and the common Oriental custom,⁷ is also completely in accordance with the numerous representations of banquets found in the tombs; the washing of guests' feet, which does not appear to be represented, is illustrated by a tale in Herodotus, as well as by

¹ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 16.

² Ibid. p. 389.

³ Herod. ii. 111. Compare Diod. Sic. i. 59.

⁴ * This papyrus is in the British Museum. For a translation of the tale, see the *Cambridge Essays* for 1858. — H.

⁵ Ebers, *Ägypten*, p. 311.

⁶ Herod. ii. 35; Wilkinson, vol. ii. pp. 151, 385, etc.

⁷ See Gen. xviii. 4.

the ancient custom of the Greeks ;¹ divination by cups is noted as an Egyptian superstition by Jamblichus ;² the monuments abound with representations of stewards and granaries, of the purchase and sale of slaves, and of the employment of wagons and chariots.³ The use of a signet-ring by the monarch has recently received a remarkable illustration by the discovery of an impression of such a signet on fine clay at Koyunjik, the site of the ancient Nineveh. This seal appears to have been impressed from the bezel of a metallic finger-ring ; it is an oval, two inches in length by one inch wide, and bears the image, name, and titles of the Egyptian king, Sabaco.⁴

It would weary the reader were we to proceed further with this confirmation of the Mosaic narrative in all its details. A simpler, and perhaps a stronger confirmation is to be

¹ Herod. ii. 172 ; Hom. Od. iii. 460-468 ; iv. 48.

² Jamblich. *de Mysteriis Ægypt.* iii. 14.

³ On stewards and granaries see Wilkinson, vol. ii. pp. 135, 136 ; Rosellini, ii. p. 329. On the sale of slaves, see Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 404. On the employment of wagons and chariots, see Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 335 ; vol. iii. p. 179.

⁴ See Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 156, and note. Other impressions of royal signets have been found in Egypt ; and the actual signet-rings of two of the ancient monarchs (Cheops and Horus) have been recovered.

* Figures of many of these objects (military, agricultural, and domestic) copied from Egyptian monuments, will be found in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. i. pp. 671-685, Amer. ed. — H.

found in an examination of those few points in respect of which modern Rationalism has ventured to impugn the Sacred History, and on the strength of which Points to which exception has been taken. it has been argued that the writer of the Pentateuch was unacquainted with Egypt, and composed his work many centuries after the time of Moses. Now, the points to which exception has been taken — so far as Genesis is concerned — appear to be chiefly these: (1) the mention of camels and asses among the possessions of Abraham in Egypt (Gen. xii. 16); (2) the blasting of the ears of corn by the east wind (xli. 6); (3) the cultivation of the vine and the use of wine in Egypt (xl. 11); (4) the use of flesh for food, especially by one connected with the higher castes of the Egyptians, as Joseph was (xliii. 16); (5) the employment of eunuchs (regarded as implied in xxxvii. 36); (6) the possibility of famine in Egypt; and (7) the possibility of such a marriage as is said to have taken place between a foreign shepherd and the daughter of the high-priest of Heliopolis (xli. 45).¹

It is undoubtedly true that there are no representations of camels on the Egyptian monuments, and that the ancient writers who speak

¹ See Von Bohlen, *Die Genesis historisch-kritisch erläutert*, and Tuch, *Comment. über d. Genesis*.

of the animals of Egypt do not mention them.

These points
examined.

But, on the other hand, it is certain, from the circumstances of the country at the present day, that much of Egypt is well suited to the camel;¹ and it is beyond a doubt that camels always abounded in the parts of Asia bordering upon Egypt, and that they must have been used in any traffic that took place between Egypt and her Eastern neighbors. Hence the bulk of modern writers upon Ancient Egypt place the camel among her animals; though some observe that "they were probably only kept upon the frontier."²

[* Camels are not uncommon in Egypt at the present time. Most of the travelling between Egypt and Palestine is performed in that way. Strabo, the Greek geographer (speaking of a much later time of course), says that the Egyptians travelled with camels through the desert from Coptos (Upper Egypt) to Berenice (Ezion-geber, Num. xxxiii. 35, 36; Deut. ii. 8). The objection as drawn from Gen. xii. 16, is not justified; for not a word is said there of the use of camels among the Egyptians (which agrees perfectly with the silence of the Egyptian monuments), but that

¹ Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 35.

² Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 35; vol. v. p. 187. Stewart Poole in Smith's *Biblical Dict.* vol. i. p. 500; and i. p. 673, Amer. ed.

Abraham favored by Pharaoh was greatly prospered as a herdsman, and among his possessions had also camels, as a nomad, such as Abraham was and continued to be (Gen. xiii. 11), would of course have. If the monuments afford no proof that the Egyptians had camels in that age, neither does the book of Genesis, and the two records are consistent with each other in that respect.]

With regard to asses, the objection taken is extraordinary, and indicates an astonishing degree of ignorance ; since asses were amongst the most common of Egyptian animals, a single individual possessing sometimes as many as seven or eight hundred.¹

An actual " east wind " is rare in Egypt, and when it occurs is not injurious to vegetation ; but the southeast wind, which would be included under the Hebrew term translated " east " in Gen. xli., is frequent, and is often most oppressive. Ukert thus sums up the accounts which modern travellers have given of it : " As long as the southeast wind continues, doors and windows are closed, but the fine dust penetrates everywhere ; everything dries up ; wooden vessels warp and crack. The thermometer rises suddenly from 16.20 degrees up

¹ * Lepsius confirms this statement explicitly (*Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*).—H.

to 30, 36, and even 38 degrees of Reaumur. This wind works destruction upon everything. The grass withers so that it entirely perishes, if this wind blows long.”¹

Though Herodotus (ii. 77) denies the existence of the vine in Egypt, and Plutarch states that wine was not drunk there till the reign of Psammetichus,² yet it is now certain, from the monuments, that the cultivation of the grape, the art of making wine, and the practice of drinking it, were well known in Egypt at least from the time of the Pyramids. Sir G. Wilkinson observes, that “wine was universally used by the rich throughout Egypt, and beer supplied its place at the tables of the poor, not because they had no vines in the country, but because it was cheaper.”³ And this statement is as true of the most ancient period represented on the monuments as of any other.

The denial of the use of flesh for food among high-caste Egyptians is one of those curious errors into which learned men occasionally fall, strangely and unaccountably. There is really

¹ Quoted by Hengstenberg, *Ägypten und Mose*, p. 10.

* First translated in this country by Prof. R. D. C. Robbins and subsequently in Clark's *Theological Library*, Edinburgh.—H.

² *De Isid. et Osir.* § 6.

³ Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 107; 2d ed.

no ancient writer who asserts that even the priests abstain ordinarily from animal food, while the best authors distinctly declare the contrary.¹ And the cooking scenes, which abound on the Egyptian monuments of all ages,² show that animal food was the principal diet of the upper classes.

With respect to the existence of eunuchs in Ancient Egypt, the evidence is conflicting. Rosellini believed that he found them depicted on the monuments.³ Wilkinson, on the other hand, does not recognize them; and it must be admitted to be doubtful whether they are really represented or no. But it is at least certain that Manetho, the Egyptian priest, regarded them as an old national institution, since he related that a king of the twelfth dynasty (ab. B. C. 1900) was assassinated by his eunuchs.⁴ On the other hand it is uncertain whether the Hebrew word used of Potiphar (Gen. xxxvii. 36), and of the "chief butler" and "chief baker" (xl. 2), though originally it may have meant "eunuch," had not also the secondary sense of "officer" at the time of the composition of the Pentateuch. That it had this sense in later times is allowed

¹ Herod. ii. 37; Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* § 5.

² Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 374-388.

³ *Monumenti dell' Egitto*, vol. ii. p. 132 *et seq.*

⁴ Manetho ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 20.

on all hands, and some even regard it as the original meaning of the word.¹

To deny, as Von Bohlen does,² the possibility of famine in Egypt, is absurd. Ancient writers constantly notice its liability to this scourge, when the inundation of the Nile falls below the average;³ and history tells of numerous cases in which the inhabitants of the country have suffered terribly from want.⁴ The most remarkable occasion, and one which furnishes a near parallel to the famine of Joseph, was in the year of the Hegira 457 (A. D. 1064), when a famine began which lasted seven years, and was so severe that dogs and cats, and even human flesh, were eaten; all the horses of the caliph, but three, perished, and his family had to fly into Syria. Another famine, scarcely less severe, took place in A. D. 1199, and is recorded by Abdel-Latif,⁵ an eye-witness, in very similar terms.

The marriage of Joseph with the daughter of the high-priest of On (Heliopolis), is an

¹ Cook Taylor, note in the translation of Hengstenberg's *Ägypten und Mose* (Clark's *Theological Library*, p. 23).

² *Die Genesis erläutert*, § 421.

³ Strab. xvii. 3, § 15; Plin. *H. N.* v. 9; xviii. 18.

⁴ Several famines are mentioned on the monuments (Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, vol. i. p. 56). Others are recorded by Mohammedan writers, as Makrizi, Es-Suyuti, and others.

⁵ See the *Description de l'Égypte*, tom. vii. p. 332.

event to which it must be admitted that we cannot show any exact parallel. It would seem, however, that the exclusiveness of the Egyptians with respect to marriage has been overrated. The kings, who, on their accession, became members of the priestly order and heads of the national religion, readily gave their daughters to foreigners, as one gave his to Solomon, and several in later times gave theirs to Ethiopians.¹ Moreover, it must be borne in mind, that Joseph was naturalized, and was accounted an Egyptian, just as the Ptolemies were in later times, and that thus any marriage would be open to him which was open to other non-priestly Egyptians. If there had still been any reluctance on the part of the high-priest, it must have yielded to the command of the despotic king, who is expressly stated to have made the marriage.

¹ Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 141.

CHAPTER III.

EXODUS TO DEUTERONOMY.

THE narrative contained in these four books — Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy — covers a space of probably less than two centuries ; and the scene is chiefly laid in countries of which profane history tells us little or nothing at this early period. Illustration of the narrative from profane sources must, therefore, be almost entirely confined to that portion of it which precedes the departure from Egypt, or, in other words, to the time during which the descendants of Abraham remained in close contact with a civilized nation, whose records and monuments have come down to us. For this space two sorts of illustrations are possible. The same kind of agreement between the details of the Biblical narrative and the usages known to have prevailed in Ancient Egypt, which has been pointed out with respect to the latter part of Genesis, may be traced likewise here ; and further, the Exodus itself, or withdrawal from Egypt of an oppressed portion of the popula-

tion, and their settlement in southern Syria or Palestine, may be shown to have left traces in Egyptian literature, Profane accounts of the Exodus. traces which quite unmistakably point to some such series of transactions as those recorded in the sacred volume.

In proof of this latter point, to which precedence may be assigned on account of its exceeding interest, an exact translation will, in the first place, be given of two passages, one from the early Egyptian writer, Manetho, and the other from a later author of the same nation, Chæremon, both of whom were priests and learned in the antiquities of their country.

Manetho (as reported by the Jewish historian, Josephus ¹) said : —

“ A king, named Amenophis, desired to behold the gods, like Horus, one of his predecessors, and imparted his desire to his namesake, Account of Manetho. Amenophis, son of Paapis, who, on account of his wisdom and acquaintance with futurity was thought to be a partaker of the divine nature. His namesake told him that he would be able to see the gods, if he cleansed the whole country of the lepers and the other polluted persons in it. The king was pleased, and collecting together all that had any bodily defect throughout

¹ *Contr. Apion.* i. 26, 27.

Egypt, to the number of eighty thousand, he cast them into the stone-quarries which lie east of the Nile, in order that they might work there together with the other Egyptians employed similarly. Among them were some of the learned priests who were afflicted with leprosy. But Amenophis, the sage and prophet, grew alarmed, fearing the wrath of the gods against himself as well as against the king, if the forced labor of the men were observed, and he proceeded to foretell that there would come persons to the assistance of the unclean, who would be masters of Egypt for thirteen years. But as he did not dare to say this to the king, he put it all in writing, and, leaving the document behind him, killed himself. Hereupon the king was greatly dejected ; and when the workers in the stone-quarries had suffered for a considerable time, the king, at their request, set apart for their refreshment and protection, the city of Avaris, which was empty, having been deserted by the shepherds. Now this place, according to the mythology, was of old a Typhonian town. So when the people had entered the city, and had thus a stronghold on which to rest, they appointed as their leader a priest of Heliopolis, by name Osarsiph, and swore to obey him in all things. And he, first of all, gave them a law, that they should worship no gods, and should abstain from none of the animals accounted most holy in Egypt, but sacrifice and consume all alike ; and further, that they should associate with none but their fellow-conspirators. Having established these and

many other laws completely opposed to the customs of Egypt, he commanded the bulk of them to build up the town wall, and to make themselves ready for a war with Amenophis the king. After this, having consulted with some of the other priests and polluted persons, he sent ambassadors to the shepherds, who had been driven out of Egypt by Tethmosis, to the city which is called Jerusalem, and after informing them about himself and his fellow-sufferers, invited them to join with him in an attack upon Egypt. He would bring them, he said, in the first place, to Avaris, the city of their forefathers, and would provide them amply with all that was necessary for their host; he would fight on their behalf, when occasion offered, and easily make the country subject to them. They, on their part, were exceedingly rejoiced, and promptly set out in full force, to the number of two hundred thousand men, and soon reached Avaris. Now when Amenophis, the Egyptian king, heard of their invasion, he was not a little disquieted, since he remembered what Amenophis the son of Paapis, had prophesied; and though he had previously collected together a vast host of Egyptians, and had taken counsel with their leaders, yet soon he gave orders that the sacred animals held in the most repute in the various temples should be conveyed to him, and that the priests of each temple should hide away the images of the gods as securely as possible. Moreover he placed his son, Sethos — called also Ramesses, after Rampses, his (*i. e.* Amenophis')

father, — who was a boy of five years old, in the hands of one of his friends. He then himself crossed the river with the other Egyptians, three hundred thousand in number, all excellent soldiers; but when the enemy advanced to meet him, he declined to engage, since he thought that it would be fighting against the gods, and returned hastily to Memphis. Then, carrying with him the Apis and the other sacred animals which had been brought to him, he proceeded at once with the whole Egyptian army to Ethiopia. Now the king of Ethiopia lay under obligations to him: he therefore received him, supplied his host with all the necessaries that his country afforded, assigned them cities and villages sufficient for the fated thirteen years' suspension of their sovereignty, and even placed an Ethiopian force on the Egyptian frontier for the protection of the army of Amenophis. Thus stood matters in Ethiopia. But the Solymites who had returned from exile, and the unclean Egyptians, treated the people of the country so shamefully, that their government appeared, to those who witnessed their impieties, to be the worst Egypt had known. For not only did they burn cities and hamlets, nor were they content with plundering the temples and ill-treating the images, but they continued to use the venerated sacred animals as food, and compelled the priests and prophets to be their slayers and butchers, and then sent them away naked. And it is said that the priest who framed their constitution and their laws, who was a native

of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph, after the Heliopolitan god Osiris, after he joined this set of people, changed his name, and was called Moses. . . .

Afterwards, Amenophis returned from Ethiopia with a great force, as did his son Rampses, who was likewise accompanied by a force, and together they engaged the shepherds and the unclean, and defeated them, slaying many and pursuing the remainder to the borders of Syria."

The statement of Chæremon is as follows : ¹

"Isis having appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and reproached him because her temple had been destroyed in the (shepherd) war, Account of Chæremon. Phritiphantes, the sacred scribe, informed him that if he would purge the land of Egypt of all those who had any pollution he would be subject to no more such alarms. So he collected 250,000 defiled persons, and expelled them from the country. Two scribes, called Moses and Joseph, led them forth ; the latter of whom was, like Phritiphantes, a sacred scribe ; and both of these men had Egyptian names, the name of Moses being Tisithen, and that of Joseph, Peteseeph. They proceeded to Pelusium, and there fell in with 380,000 persons, who had been left behind by Amenophis, because he did not like to bring them into Egypt. So they made an alliance with these men, and invaded Egypt ; whereupon Amenophis, without waiting for them to attack him, fled away into

¹ Ap. Joseph. *c. Apion.* § 32.

Ethiopia, leaving his wife, who was pregnant, behind him. And she, having hid herself in some caves, gave birth there to a son, who was called Messenes, who, when he came to man's estate, drove the Jews into Syria, their number being about 200,000, and received back his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia."

From these passages it appears (1) that the Egyptians had a tradition of an Exodus from their country of persons whom they regarded as unclean, persons who rejected their customs, refused to worship their gods, and killed for food the animals which they held as sacred; (2) that they connected this Exodus with the names of Joseph¹ and Moses; (3) that they made southern Syria the country into which the unclean persons withdrew; and (4) that they placed the event in the reign of a certain Amenophis, son of Rameses, or Rampses, and father of Sethos, who was made to reign towards the close of the eighteenth dynasty, or about B. c. 1400-1300.² The circumstances by which

Points of accordance between these accounts and Scripture.

¹ It must be remembered that the Israelites did carry with them out of Egypt the body of Joseph (Ex. xiii. 19), and that there was, thus, some foundation for the Egyptian notion, that *Moses and Joseph* led them out.

It is said also in Josh. xxiv. 32, that "the bones of Joseph which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem." See also Acts vii. 15, 16. — H.

² Egyptian chronology and the date of the Exodus are, both

the Exodus was preceded are represented differently in the Egyptian and in the Hebrew narrative, either because the memory of some other event is confused with that of the Jewish Exodus, or because the Egyptian writers, being determined to represent the withdrawal of the Jews from Egypt as an expulsion, were driven to invent a cause for the expulsion in a precedent war, and a temporary dominion of the polluted persons over their country. Among little points common to the two narratives, and tending to identify them, are the following: (1) the name of *Avaris* given to the town made over to the polluted persons, which stands in etymological connection with the word "Hebrew"; (2) the character of the pollution ascribed to them, leprosy, which may be accounted for, first, by the fact that one of the signs by which Moses was to prove his divine mission consisted in the exhibition of a leprous hand (Ex. iv. 6); and, secondly, by the existence of this malady to a considerable extent among the Hebrew people at the time (Lev. xiii. and xiv.); (3) the mention

of them, still unsettled. M. Lenormant places the accession of the nineteenth dynasty in B. C. 1462 (*Manuel d'Histoire*, tom. i. p. 321); Sir G. Wilkinson in B. C. 1324 (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 308, 2d ed.); Mr. Stuart Poole about B. C. 1340 (*Biblical Dict.* vol. i. p. 511; and vol. i. p. 684, Amer. ed.). The date of the Exodus is variously given, as B. C. 1648 (Hales) 1652 (Poole), 1491 (Usher, Kalisch), and 1320 (Lepsius).

of Heliopolis as the city to which the leader belonged, and the assignment to him of priestly rank, which arises naturally out of the confusion between Moses and Joseph (Gen. xli. 45); (4) the employment of the polluted persons for a time in forced labor; (5) the conviction of Amenophis that in resisting the polluted he was "fighting against the gods;" (6) his fear for the safety of his young son, which recalls to our thoughts the last and most awful of the plagues; (7) the sending away of the priests "naked," which seems an exaggeration of the "spoiling of the Egyptians;" and (8) the occurrence of the name "Ramesses" in the Egyptian royal house, which harmonizes with its employment at the time as a local designation (Ex. i. 11; xii. 37).

Another curious account of the Exodus was given by Hecataeus, a Greek of Abdera, who flourished in the time of Alexander, and was familiar with Ptolemy Lagi, the first Greek king of Egypt. This writer, as reported by Diodorus,¹ said:—

"Once, when a plague broke out in Egypt, the people generally ascribed the affliction to the anger of the gods; for as many strangers of different races were dwelling in Egypt

Account given
by Hecataeus
of Abdera.

¹ Diod. Sic. xl. 3. (The passage is preserved to us by Photius, *Bibliothec.* p. 1152.)

at the time, who practiced various strange customs in their worship and their sacrifices, it had come to pass that the old religious observances of the country had fallen into disuse. The natives, therefore, believing that unless they expelled the foreigners there would be no end to their sufferings, rose against them, and drove them out. Now the noblest and most enterprising joined together, and went (as some say) to Greece and elsewhere, under leaders of good repute; the most remarkable of whom were Danäus and Cadmus. But the bulk of them withdrew to the country which is now called Judæa, situated at no great distance from Egypt, and at that time without inhabitants. The leader of this colony was the man called Moses, who was distinguished above his fellows by his wisdom and his courage. Having taken possession of the country, he built there a number of towns, and among them the city which is called Jerusalem, and which is now so celebrated. He likewise built the temple which they hold in so much respect, and instituted their religious rites and ceremonies; besides which he gave them laws and arranged their form of government. He divided the people into twelve tribes, because he regarded 12 as the most perfect number, agreeing, as it does, with the number of months that complete the year. But he would not set up any kind of image of the Deity, because he did not believe that God had a human form, but regarded the firmament which surrounds the earth as the only God and Lord of all. And he made their sac-

rifices and their habits of life quite different from those of other nations, introducing a misanthropic and inhospitable style of living, on account of the expulsion which he had himself suffered."

With this may be compared the remarkable account in Tacitus,¹ which combines certain features which are Egyptian with others that have clearly come from the sacred narrative.

"Most writers agree," says Tacitus, "that when a plague, which disfigured men's bodies, had broken out in Egypt, Bocchoris, the king, desirous of a remedy, sent and consulted the oracle of Ammon, which commanded him to purge his kingdom, by removing to foreign lands the afflicted persons, who were a race hateful to the gods. Search was therefore made, and a vast multitude being collected together, was led forth and left in a desert. Then Moses, one of their number, seeing the rest stupefied with grief, advised them, as they were deserted both by gods and men, not to expect help from either, but to confide in Him the heavenly leader, to whose assistance they would no sooner trust than they would be free from their troubles. His words won their assent, and in utter ignorance they marched whither chance led them. Their greatest trial was the want of water. Death seemed drawing near, as they lay prostrate on the plains, when, lo! a herd of wild

Account of
Tacitus.

¹ *Hist.* v. 3. Compare the account of Lysimachus (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* vol. iii. p. 334).

asses was seen to quit its pasture and retreat to a piece of rocky ground whereon a number of trees grew. Moses followed upon their track, and finding a patch of soil covered with grass, conjectured the presence of water, and succeeded in uncovering some copious springs. Thus refreshed they pursued their journey for six days, and on the seventh reached a cultivated tract, whereof they took possession, after driving out the inhabitants. Here they built their town and consecrated their temple."

From the diverse manner in which the story is told by different authors, we may conclude that the Egyptians in their formal histories took no notice of the occurrence, which sorely hurt their national vanity; but that a remembrance of it continued in the minds of the people, who possessed (it must be borne in mind) a copious contemporary literature,¹ and that this remembrance gradually took various shapes, all of them, however, more or less flattering to the Egyptians themselves, and unfair to their adversaries. The Hebrews were almost uniformly represented as unclean persons, afflicted with some disease or other, and their Exodus was declared to be an expulsion. Generally they were spoken of as Egyptians, which

The differences and inaccuracies of these various accounts explained.

¹ The hieratic Papyri of Egypt go back to a time anterior to the eighteenth dynasty. They comprise romances, epistolary correspondence, poem, etc.

was not unnatural, considering their long sojourn in the country ;¹ but sometimes it was allowed that they were foreigners.² The miraculous events by which their departure was preceded were ignored, partially or wholly ; but there was a pretty general consent as to the name of their leader, as to the character of the laws which he gave them, and as to the quarter in which they obtained new settlements. The Egyptians never forgot, any more than the Hebrews, that there had been a time when the two races had dwelt together ; they looked on the Hebrews as a sort of Egyptian colony ; and while from time to time they claimed, on that account, a dominion over their country, they were ready generally to extend to it that protection, which colonies, according to the ideas of the ancient world, were entitled to require from the fatherland. The relations between Egypt and Palestine were, for the most part, friendly from the time of the Exodus to the conquest of Egypt by the Romans.

¹ Compare Ex. ii. 19, where Reuel's daughters mistake Moses for "an Egyptian."

² See the account of Hecataeus (*supra*, p. 62), and compare Tacit. *Hist.* v. 2: "Some writers tell us that they (*i. e.* the Jews) were a band of *Assyrians*, who, being in want of territory, first took possession of a portion of Egypt, and soon afterwards became the inhabitants of the parts of Syria which lie near to Egypt."

In none of the profane accounts hitherto quoted has the remarkable event of the passage of the Red Sea by the Hebrews, in their flight, obtained any mention. There is, however, reason to believe, that this important feature of the history retained a place in the recollections of the Egyptian people, and even formed a subject of discussion and controversy among them. Artapanus, a Jewish historian, quoted by Alexander Polyhistor,¹ the contemporary of Sulla and Marius, wrote as follows :—

Egyptian versions of the passage of the Red Sea.

“ *The Memphites say*, that Moses, being well acquainted with the district, watched the ebb of the tide, and so led the people across the dry bed of the sea ; but *they of Heliopolis affirm*, that the king at the head of a vast force, and having the sacred animals also with him, pursued after the Jews, because they were carrying away with them the riches, which they had borrowed of the Egyptians. Then, they say, the voice of God commanded Moses to smite the sea with his rod, and divide it ; and Moses, when he heard it, touched the water with it, and so the sea parted asunder, and the host marched through on dry ground.”

From these direct testimonies to the historical truth of the Exodus, we may now turn to the less striking, but perhaps even more con-

¹ *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* vol. iii. pp. 223, 224.

vincing, indirect evidence, which is furnished by the minute agreement of the sacred narrative with the known usages of Ancient Egypt.

The narrative of Exodus tells us, in the first place, that shortly after the death of Joseph an oppression of the Israel-
The oppression of Israel by the Egyptians. ites began. A new king — perhaps the founder of a new dynasty — claimed the whole race as his slaves, and proceeded to engage them in servile labors, placing taskmasters over them, whose business it was to “make their lives bitter with hard bondage” (Ex. i. 14). The work assigned to them consisted of brickmaking, building, and severe field-labor. They worked under the rod, the laborers being liable to be “smitten” by the Egyptian taskmasters as they labored (ii. 11), and the native officers being punished by flogging if the tasks of the men under them were not fulfilled (v. 14). On the brickmakers a certain “tale of bricks” was imposed (v. 8), which had to be completed daily. Straw was a material in the bricks; and this was at first furnished to the laborers, but afterwards they were required to procure straw for themselves, on which they spread themselves over the land and gathered stubble (v. 12). Details are wanting with respect to their other employments; but in one place

(Deut. xi. 10) we find it implied that one of the main hardships of the field-work was the toil of irrigation.

Almost every point of this narrative is capable of illustration from the Egyptian monuments. Notwithstanding the great abundance of stone in Egypt, and the fact that most of the grander buildings were constructed of this

Almost every point of the oppression illustrated by the Egyptian monuments.

material, yet there was also an extensive employment of brick in the country.¹ Pyramids,² houses, tombs, the walls of towns, fortresses, and the sacred inclosures of temples, were commonly, or, at any rate, frequently, built of brick by the Egyptians.³ A large portion of the brick-fields belonged to the monarch, for whose edifices bricks were made in them, stamped with his name.⁴ Chopped straw was an ordinary material in the bricks,⁵ being employed as hair by modern plasterers, to bind them together, and make them more

¹ * Immense masses of brick are now found at Belbers, the modern capital of Tharkiya, *i. e.* Goshen, and in the adjoining district (Cook's *Bible Commentary*, vol. i. p. 252) The pyramids of Lower Egypt were not built by the Israelites, but belonged with few exceptions to an earlier period. — H.

² Herod. ii. 136.

³ Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 183, 2d ed.

⁴ Rosellini, *Monumenti*, vol. ii. p. 252; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 97.

⁵ Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 50; Rosellini, vol. ii. pp. 252, 259, etc.

firm and durable. Captives and foreigners commonly did the work in the royal brick-fields; and Egyptian taskmasters, with rods in their hands, watched their labors, and punished the idle with blows at their discretion.¹ The bastinado was a recognized punishment for minor offenses.² "Stubble" and "straw" both existed in Ancient Egypt, wheat being occasionally cut with a portion of the stalk; while the remainder, or more commonly, the entire stalk, was left standing in the fields.³ And both stubble and straw have been found in the bricks.⁴ Finally, though agricultural labor is in some respects light in Egypt,⁵ yet practically, from the continued succession of crops, from the intense heat of the climate,

¹ Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 42; Rosellini, vol. ii. p. 249.

² Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 41.

³ Ibid. vol. iv. pp. 5-83.

⁴ Ibid. vol. i. p. 50.

* See the wood-cuts (*Bibl. Dict.* vol. i. p. 326, Amer. ed.) which represent the servile occupations of captives in Egypt (taken from paintings at Thebes, in Upper Egypt): they are such as digging and mixing the clay, making the brick, presence of taskmasters with whips, counting the tale of brick, carrying them to the overseers, etc. The Hebrews may not be meant here, but their Egyptian life is illustrated as perfectly as if the picture had been drawn for them. — H.

⁵ "The Egyptians," says Herodotus (ii. 14), "obtain the fruits of the field with less trouble than any other people in the world. They have no need to use either the plough or the hoe; the swine tread in their corn, and also thrash it." Compare Wilkinson's note in Rawlinson's *Herod.* vol. ii. p. 15, 2d

and from the exertions needed for irrigation, the lot of the cultivator has always been, and still continues to be, a hard one.¹

Among the other Egyptian usages introduced to our notice in Exodus, the most remarkable are the following: The employment of chariots, on a large scale, in war (xiv. 6, 7); the practice of the king to go out to battle in person (Ib. 8); the hearing of complaints and transaction of business by the king in person (v. 15); the possession, by most Egyptians, of articles in gold and silver (xii. 35); the cultivation, in spring, of the following crops *chiefly* — wheat, barley, flax, and rye, or spelt (ix. 32); the keeping of cattle, partly in the fields, partly in stables (ix. 3, 19); the storing of water in vessels of wood and stone (vii. 19); the employment of midwives (i. 15–21); the use of the papyrus for boats (ii. 3), of furnaces (ix. 8), ovens (viii. 3), kneading-troughs (Ib.), walking-sticks (vii. 10, 12), hand-mills (xi. 5), bitumen (ii. 3), and pitch (Ib.). To these the following may be added from the later books of the Pentateuch — the necessary employment of irrigation in agriculture (Deut. xi. 10); the

The general picture of Egyptian customs in Exodus is confirmed by the monuments.

¹ See Kalisch, *Comment. on Exodus*, p. 10; and compare Wilkinson, vol. iv. pp. 41–101.

use, as common articles of food, of fish, cucumbers, melons, onions, garlic, and leeks (Num. xi. 5); and the practice of the kings to keep large studs of horses (Deut. xvii. 16).

Now here again, as in the later chapters of Genesis, almost every custom recorded can be confirmed either from the ancient accounts of Egyptian manners which have come down to us, or from the monuments, or from both. The only exception, of any importance, is the employment of midwives, which was probably rare, as it is in the East generally, and which was also of a nature that would have been felt to render it unfit for representation. Even here, however, where ancient illustration fails, a strong confirmation of the narrative has been obtained by modern inquiry, the curious expression, "when ye see them upon the stools," being in remarkable accordance with the modern Egyptian practice, as stated by Mr. Lane.¹ "Two or three days," he says, "before the expected time of delivery, the *layah* (midwife) conveys to the house the *kursee elwilâ-deh*, a chair of a peculiar form, upon which the patient is to be seated during the birth."

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¹ *Modern Egyptians*, vol. iii. p. 142.

by far the most important arm of the military service was the chariot force. The king, the princes, and all the chiefs of importance fought from chariots.¹ Diodorus made the number of them in the army of Sesostris, 27,000,² and though this is a gross exaggeration, it shows the feeling of the Greeks as to the very extensive employment of chariots by the earlier monarchs. Cavalry were employed to a very small extent, if at all;³ and though this, at first sight, may seem at variance with the Mosaic narrative (Ex. xiv. 9, 17, 18, 23, etc.; xv. 1), yet a careful examination of the original text will lead to the conclusion that the force which pursued the Israelites was composed of chariots and infantry only.⁴ The practice of the king to lead out his army in person, is abundantly evident,⁵ and will

¹ Wilkinson, vol. i. pp. 335-341; Rosellini, vol. ii. p. 240.

² Diod. Sic. i. 54.

³ Rosellini inclines to the belief that the ancient Egyptians had no cavalry (vol. ii. pp. 232-259). Sir G. Wilkinson thinks they may have had a cavalry force, but that it was scanty (vol. i. pp. 289, 290). Both agree that no cavalry are represented on the monuments. Herodotus *once* speaks of an Egyptian commander as on horseback (ii. 162). Diodorus, on the other hand, gives Sesostris a numerous cavalry (i. 54).

⁴ See the arguments of Hengstenberg (pp. 127-129), and Kalisch (*Comment. on Exodus*, pp. 182-184). The term translated "horsemen" in our Version, refers probably to the riders in the chariots.

⁵ Herod. ii. 102; Wilkinson, i. pp. 63, 65, 83, &c.

scarcely be doubted by any. It was indeed a practice universal at the time among all Oriental sovereigns. The hearing of complaints and pronouncing of judgments by the king in person, was also very usual throughout the East; and the existence of the custom in Egypt is illustrated by many passages in ancient authors.¹

The representations with respect to Egyptian agriculture, feeding of cattle, food, dress, and domestic habits are similarly borne out both by the ancient remains and the ancient authorities. The cultivation depicted on the monuments is especially that of wheat, flax, barley, and another grain, which is believed to correspond with the *cussemeth*, "rye," or "spelt," of the Hebrews.² Fish and vegetables formed the chief food of the lower classes; and among the vegetables especially affected, gourds, cucumbers, onions, and garlic are distinctly apparent.³ According to Herodotus, some tribes of the Egyptians lived entirely on fish, which abounded in the Nile, the canals, and the lakes, especially in the Birket-el-Keroun, or Lake Mœris.⁴ The monuments represent the catching, salting, and

¹ See Herod. ii. 115, 121, § 3; 129, 173.

² Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 398; vol. iv. pp. 85-99.

³ Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 370-374; and compare vol. i. p. 277, and Herod. ii. 125.

⁴ Herod. ii. 92, 93, 149; iii. 91.

eating of this viand.¹ We also see on the monuments that cattle were kept, both in the field, where they were liable to be overtaken by the inundation,² and also in stalls or sheds.³ The wide-spread possession, by the Egyptians, of articles in gold and silver, vases, goblets, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, earrings, and finger-rings is among the facts most copiously attested by the extant remains,⁴ and is also illustrated by the ancient writers, who even speak of so strange an article as “a golden footpan.”⁵ The employment of furnaces, ovens, and kneading-troughs, the common practice of carrying staves or walking-sticks, and the use of hand-mills for grinding corn, are

¹ Wilkinson, vol. iii. pp. 53, 56; ii. p. 401.

² Ibid. vol. iv. pp. 101, 102.

³ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 134. Compare *Cambridge Essays* for 1858, p. 249.

⁴ “The ornaments of gold found in Egypt,” says Sir G. Wilkinson, “consist of rings, bracelets, armlets, necklaces, earrings, and numerous trinkets belonging to the toilet” (vol. iii. p. 225). And again, “Gold and silver vases, statues, and other objects of gold and silver, of silver inlaid with gold, and of bronze inlaid with the precious metals, were also common at the same time” (Ibid.). Compare pp. 370–377.

* The Egyptian Museums (London, Paris, Berlin) contain almost as great a variety of ornaments for personal decoration (ivory, gold, silver), as are known to the fashions of modern life. They have been found in Egyptian tombs, pyramids, and mummy-pits and many of them must be as old as the age of the Pharaohs and the pyramids. — H.

⁵ Herod. ii. 172.

likewise certified, either by representations or by remains found in the country.¹

The storing of water in vessels of wood and stone, which is implied in Ex. vii. 19, is a pe-

Peculiar cus-
toms.

1. Storing of
water.

culiarly Egyptian custom, scarcely known elsewhere. The abundance of water in the Nile, and its wide diffusion by means of canals, render reservoirs, in the ordinary sense of the word, unnecessary in Egypt; and water would never be stored, if it were not for the necessity of purifying in certain seasons the turbid fluid furnished by the Nile, in order to render it a palatable beverage. For this purpose it has always been, and is still, usual to keep the Nile water in jars, stone troughs, or tubs, until the sediment is deposited, and the fluid rendered fit for drinking.²

The practice of making boats out of the papyrus, recorded in Ex. ii. 3,³ is also spe-

2. Boats of pa-
pyrus

cially Egyptian, and was not in vogue elsewhere. It is distinctly mentioned by Herodotus, Plutarch, and many

¹ On the employment of furnaces, see Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 164; of ovens and kneading-troughs, vol. v. p. 385; of walking-sticks, vol. iii. pp. 386, 387; and of hand-mills, vol. ii. p. 113.

² Wilkinson, vol. iv. p. 100; Pococke, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 312.

³ The word rendered "bulrushes" in our Version (*gomeh*), is generally admitted to signify some kind of papyrus — probably not that from which paper was made, but a coarser kind.

other ancient writers,¹ and is thought to be traceable on the monuments.² The caulking of these boats with pitch and bitumen, a practice not mentioned anywhere but in Exodus, is highly probable in itself; and is so far in accordance with the remains, that both pitch and bitumen are found to have been used by the Egyptians.³ Bitumen, which is not an Egyptian product, appears to have been imported from abroad, and was even sometimes taken as tribute from the Mesopotamian tribes,⁴ with whom the ancient Egyptians had frequent contests.

In illustration of the extensive possession of horses by the early kings of Egypt, it will be sufficient to adduce a passage from Diodorus, who says that “the ^{3. Extensive breeding of horses.} monarchs before Sesostriis maintained, along the banks of the Nile between Memphis and Thebes, two hundred stables, in each of which were kept a hundred horses.”⁵ Herodotus also notices that, prior to the reign of Sesostriis, horses and carriages were very abundant in Egypt, but that subsequently they became

¹ Herod. ii. 96; Plut. *De Isid. et Os.* § 18; Theophrast. *De Plantis*, iv. 9; Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 11; etc.

² Wilkinson, vol. ii. pp. 60, 185.

³ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 186; Rosellini, vol. i. p. 249.

⁴ Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 254.

⁵ Diod. Sic. i.

comparatively uncommon, since the intersection of the whole country by canals rendered it unsuitable for their employment.¹ They were still, no doubt, bred and employed, and even exported (1 Kings x. 29), to a certain extent; but from about the time of the nineteenth dynasty, Egypt ceased to be a great horse-breeding country.

Further, it may be observed that the state of the arts among the Hebrews when they quitted Egypt, which has sometimes been objected to as unduly advanced, is in entire accordance with the condition of art in Egypt at the period. The Egyptian civilization of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties embraces all the various arts and manufactures necessary for the construction of the Tabernacle and its appurtenances, for the elaborate dress of the priests, and for the entire ceremonial described in the later books of the Pentateuch. The employment of writing, the arts of cutting and setting gems, the power of working in metals — and especially in gold, in silver, and in bronze, — skill in carving wood, the tanning and dyeing of leather, the manufacture of fine linen, the knowledge of embroidery, the dyeing of textile fabrics, the

Hebrew art at the Exodus such as might have been learnt in Egypt.

¹ Herod. ii. 108

employment of gold thread, the preparation and use of highly-scented unguents, are parts of the early civilization of Egypt, and were probably at their highest perfection about the time that the Exodus took place.¹ Although the Hebrews, while in Egypt, were, for the most part, mere laborers and peasants, still it was natural that some of them, and, even more, that some of the Egyptians who accompanied them (Ex. xiii. 38), should have been acquainted with the various branches of trade and manufactures established in Egypt at the time. Hence there is nothing improbable in the description given in the Pentateuch of the Ark and its surroundings, since the Egyptian art of the time was quite equal to their production.

The sojourn of the Israelites in the wilderness for forty years removed them so entirely, during that space, from contact with any historic people, that we cannot expect to find, in the profane records that have come down to us, any-

No historical illustration of the sojourn in the wilderness possible.

¹ See Hengstenberg, *Ägypten und Mose*, ch. v. pp. 133-143.

* The proper title of the above work is *Die Bücher Mose's und Ägypten* (1st ed. 1841). See also R. S. Poole on "Egypt," in *Smith's Bible Dictionary* (1863). Dr. J. P. Thompson adds an important supplement in Hurd and Houghton's ed. (1867). The two writers furnish a very complete view of the Egyptology of the subject. — H.

thing to confirm or illustrate the sacred narrative. That narrative must rest, first, on the profound conviction of its truthfulness which remained forever impressed upon the consciousness of the people; secondly, on its geographic accuracy, and on the perfect accordance with fact of what may be called its local coloring;¹ and, thirdly, on the *quasi*-certainty that it is the production of an eye-witness. It may be added, that the circumstances recorded are too little creditable to the Hebrew people for any national historiographer to have invented them.

Recent criticism has attacked chiefly the numbers in the narrative.² There is certainly

a difficulty in understanding how
A difficulty connected with it answered. a population exceeding two mill-

ions could have supported itself, together with its flocks and herds, in a tract which, at the present day, barely suffices to sustain some tribes of Bedouins numbering, perhaps, six thousand souls.³ Had the narrative made no mention of miraculous maintenance, this difficulty would have been almost insurmountable. As, however, the writer expressly declares that a miraculous supply of

¹ See Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, part i. pp. 1-57.

² Colenso, *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, pp. 31-138.

³ Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* p. 22.

food was furnished daily during the whole period of the sojourn to the entire people, the main objection disappears. We have only to suppose that, although the tract, compared with Egypt, and even with Palestine, was a desert, yet that it was considerably better supplied with water, and so with pasturage, than it is at the present day. There are many indications that this was the case.¹ The Israelites apparently needed a miraculous supply of water twice only. If so, wells must have been numerous and abundant, water being to be found in most places at a little distance from the surface. But wherever in the desert this is the case, there will occur oases, and a sufficient vegetation for flocks and herds, of a considerable size. The Israelites, no doubt, spread themselves widely over the peninsula during the forty years; and as the area of the desert is at least fifteen hundred square miles, the numerous flocks and herds wherewith they entered the country may have maintained themselves, though, it is to be remarked, we are not told whether their numbers diminished or no.

In any case, a difficulty which is merely numerical is of no great account. Numbers,

¹ Stanley, pp. 23-27; and Hayman, in *Bibl. Dict.* vol. iii. pp. 1752-1754; and vol. iv. pp. 3519, 3520, Amer. ed.

which, in early times, so far as we have any evidence on the subject,¹ were always expressed, in some abbreviated form, by conventional signs, are far more liable to corruption than any other parts of ancient manuscripts; and the numerical statements of the sacred writers have undoubtedly suffered in transcription to a large extent. The "six hundred thousand that were men" of Ex. xii. 37, may be a corruption of an original "one hundred thousand" or "sixty thousand"; and the numbers in Num. i., ii., may have suffered similarly. The great fact recorded, which stands out as historically true, and which no petty criticism can shake, is the exit

from Egypt of a considerable tribe,
 Conclusion. the progenitors of the later Hebrew nation and their settlement in Palestine, after a sojourn of some duration in the wilderness. Of this fact the Hebrews and Egyptians were equally well convinced; and as both nations enjoyed a contemporary literature, and had thus the evidence on the point of witnesses living at the time, only an irrational skepticism can entertain a doubt respecting it.

¹ On the numerical signs used in Ancient Egypt, see Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 51, and compare *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv. pp. 130, 131. On the signs used by the early Babylonians, see Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. pp. 129-131.

[* The later explorations of the Sinaitic peninsula, show that the alleged difficulty of subsistence in the case of the Israelites, during the forty years in the wilderness, has been very much exaggerated. The Rev. F. W. Holland, for example, who has repeatedly traversed that region, says : “ Large tracts of the northern portion of the plateau of the *Tih*, which are now desert, were evidently formerly under cultivation. The Gulf of Suez (probably by means of an artificial canal connecting it with the Bitter Lakes) once extended nearly fifty miles farther north than it does at present, and the mountains of Palestine were well clothed with trees. Thus there formerly existed a rain-making area of considerable extent, which must have added largely to the dews and rains of Sinai. Probably, also, the peninsula itself was formerly much more thickly wooded.

“ The amount of vegetation and herbage in the peninsula, even at the present time, has been very much underrated ; and a slight increase in the present rain-fall would produce an enormous addition to the amount of pasturage. I have several times seen the whole face of the country, especially the wadies, marvelously changed in appearance by a single shower.

“It is a great mistake to suppose that the convent gardens at the foot of *Jebel Mûsa*, and those in *Wady Feirân*, and at *Tôr*, mark the only three spots where any considerable amount of cultivation could exist in the peninsula. Hundreds of old monastic gardens, with copious wells and springs, are scattered over the mountains throughout the granite districts; and I could mention at least twenty streams which are perennial, excepting perhaps in unusually dry seasons.

“It has been said that the present physical conditions of the country are such as to render it utterly impossible that the events recorded in the book of Exodus can ever have occurred there. It is wonderful, however, how apparent difficulties melt away as our acquaintance with the country increases. I see no difficulty myself in the provision of sufficient pasturage for the flocks and herds, if, as I have shown, there are good reasons for supposing the rain-fall was in former days larger than it is at present; and with regard to the cattle, I will point out one important fact, which appears to me to have been overlooked, namely, that they were probably used as beasts of burden; and, in addition to other things, carried their own water, sufficient for several days, slung in water-skins by their

side, just as Sir Samuel Baker found them doing at the present day in Abyssinia.”¹ The statements of Bishop Colenso, so different from this testimony of experienced travelers, are exaggerated and misleading.]

¹ * See *Recent Explorations in the Peninsula of Sinai*, by Rev. F. W. Holland (1869); and statements of the same writer in *Smith's Bibl. Dict.* vol. iv. p. 3640, Amer. ed. — H.

CHAPTER IV.

JOSHUA TO SAMUEL.

[* THE book of Joshua relates especially to the land of Canaan and its distribution among the twelve tribes. Hence this book is peculiarly topographical in its character; and the more so because the entire political and religious life of the Hebrews was interwoven like a net-work with the geography of the country. This book in particular, says the great geographer, Ritter, has been subjected to the severest scrutiny, inasmuch as the scene of it lies to such an extent on the west of the Jordan now so fully explored. Its notices not only of distinct regions, but of valleys, mountains, villages, have been confirmed, often with surprising certainty and particularity. The great geographer refers, as an example of this, to Joshua's second campaign in the south of Palestine (see Josh. xi. 16 f., and xv. 21 ff.). He shows that the divisions of the country there into five parts, the scene of that expedition, rests upon a basis of geographical conditions which none but an eye-witness

could have remarked. He shows in addition to this general accuracy in the outline, that the specialities are equally true; that many of the cities and towns mentioned in the book retain to this day their ancient names, and also occur together, precisely as the sacred writers represent them as arranged of old.¹

Another similar example may be drawn from Saul's last and fatal battle on Gilboa (1 Sam. xxxi. 1 ff., and 2 Sam. i. 1 ff.), which chronology assigns to B. C. 1055, later but little than the traditionary age of the siege of Troy. Yet the scene of it lies now mapped out before us on the face of the country as distinctly as if the battle had been fought in our own times. All the places (Gilboa, Jezreel, Shunem, Bethshean; Aphek only, 1 Sam. xxix. 1, as yet to be excepted) have been identified under their old names, and at such points precisely as the intimations of the history and the course of the battle presuppose. A person may start from any one of them and make the circuit of them all in a few hours. Such examples are becoming every day more and more frequent in the progress of Palestine explorations. As geographers and tourists traverse the land in every direction, and ask the names

¹ * Ritter's *Einblick auf Palästina u. seine Christliche Bevölkerung* (Berlin, 1852). — H.

of towns, villages, brooks, heaps of ruins, and the like, they have the old names given back to them from the mouth of the people, though unheard of (out of the country) since last mentioned in these oldest records of human history.¹

We have a similar testimony to the geographical accuracy of the Pentateuch furnished by Messrs. Holland and Palmer, who have lately explored so thoroughly the Sinaitic Peninsula. "The encampment by the Red Sea, mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 10, proved that the Israelites kept down the coast after crossing the Red Sea somewhere in the neighborhood of Suez. They first 'went three days in the wilderness, and found no water' (Ex. xv. 22). They then came to Marah, where the water was bitter, so that they could not drink of it (23), and from there they removed to Elim, whence they removed to their encampment by the Red Sea. Now the traveller to this day, on his journey to Mount Sinai, after traversing a long strip of barren desert with-

¹ * For gleanings on this subject of the topography of Scripture, see Van de Velde (*Travels in Syr. and Pal.* vol. ii. p. 368 ff.; Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* p. 339, Amer. ed.), Porter's *Handbook*, ii. 355 ff.; Thomson's *Land and Book*, ii. 141 ff., and the writer's *Illustrations of Scripture* (gathered in the Holy Land), pp. 118-126. For the results of some of the more recent explorations in the Desert of Sinai and in Palestine generally, see especially *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 1-435 (London and New York, 1871). — H.

out water that extends down the coast, comes to a district where the water is brackish and unwholesome ; a day's journey next brings him to an elevated plain, where there are wells of water and palm-trees ; and then he descends again to the sea-coast, having been forced to pass round the back of a mountain, which reaches out into the sea. Thus the character of the country and distances from point to point, exactly agree with the Bible narrative. And this is the case the whole way to Mount Sinai ; for next comes a large plain, that answers well to the wilderness of Sin, where the Israelites were first fed with manna (Ex. xvi. 1) ; and from the plains one of the principal wadies affords an easy road to Mount Sinai, a day's journey from which is a spot which tradition marks as the site of the battle of Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 8 ff.), and which agrees well with the short description we have of that battle-field. So mountainous is the country, that there is only one other route which could possibly have been followed by the Israelites ; and the mention of the encampment by the sea (Num. xxiii. 10) renders that almost impossible. Thus the features of the country bear out and explain the Bible narrative ; and research here, as elsewhere in Bible lands, confirms our belief in the truth of that

history of God's chosen people which has been given us in the Holy Scriptures." ^{1]}

The period treated in the books of Joshua and Samuel is the darkest in the whole history of the Hebrew people. The fugitives from Egypt, who by Divine aid effected a lodgment in the land of Canaan, under their great leader, Joshua, were engaged for some hundreds of years in a perpetual struggle for existence with the petty tribes among whom they had intruded themselves, and during this entire period were removed from connection with those civilized nations with whom writing was a familiar practice, and the recording of contemporaneous history an established usage. The Moabites, Ammonites, Amorites, Canaanites, Midianites, Philistines, with whom the Israelites contended with eventual success for the space of three or four hundred years after the death of Moses, were races either absolutely without a literature, or with none that has come down to us.² It is true that history continued to be written during the period under consideration

Isolated position of the Hebrews after the Exodus.

¹ * *Sinai and Jerusalem; or, Scenes from Bible Lands*, by Rev. F. W. Holland (London, 1872). — H.

² The *stelé* of Mesha — the only remnant of the literature of any of these races that has reached our times — belongs to a later period than that here treated of.

* See Appendix No. 2, at the end of the volume. — H.

in the great and civilized kingdoms of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria ; but these nations were content with writing their own histories, and did not trouble themselves with that of their neighbors, unless they were brought into direct contact with them. Now it appears distinctly that no such contact took place. The Mesopotamian powers declined in military strength after the time of Chedor-laomer. Assyria shook off the yoke of Babylon, and the two nations became engaged in long wars against each other. The Assyrian records show that during the period assigned by Scripture to the Hebrew judges and the early Hebrew kings, Assyrian expeditions were either confined within the Euphrates, or at any rate went no further than Cappadocia and Upper Syria, or the country about Antioch and Aleppo.¹ And though Egypt seems to have continued for some time after the Exodus to be a great military state, and to have conducted expeditions into Northern Syria, and even across the Euphrates,² yet in Southern Syria she cared only to maintain her possession of the coast route, and attempted no subjugation.

Negative accord of their records with the Egyptian and Assyrian

¹ See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 312-327.

² Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire*, vol. ii. pp. 436-448; Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 314, 315.

tion of the tribes inhabiting the highlands on either side of the Jordan. As the Hebrew records are silent with respect to Egypt and Assyria during this entire period, so the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions are silent with respect to the Hebrews. If there is not a positive, there is a negative accord, between them. From the Hebrews' account of themselves we gather that during their long period of struggle with the Canaanitish nations, they were unmolested by either Egypt or Assyria; from the accounts given by the Egyptians and Assyrians of the same period, we learn that they led no expeditions into the country occupied by the Hebrews during these centuries.

It is not till we approach the close of the period under consideration that any positive historical illustration of this portion of the sacred narrative becomes possible. One curious tradition throws a gleam of light on the earlier history; but otherwise antiquity is silent, until we come to the reign of David. The tradition intended is one that appears to have been current in the western part of North Africa, where the natives not only believed themselves to be of Canaanite extraction,¹ but expressly

Tradition of Joshua's war with the Canaanites preserved in North Africa.

¹ S. Augustine says of the rustics in his part of Africa: "Interrogati quid sint, Punicé respondent, Chanani" (Ep. ad Rom.)

derived themselves from certain fugitives, who were (they said) expelled from Palestine by "Joshua, the son of Nun, the plunderer." So strong was the conviction upon the point, that at Tingis, or Tigisis, the modern Tangiers, there were erected near the great fountain of the place, two pillars of white marble bearing an inscription to this effect in the Phœnician language and character, which remained to the times of the Lower Empire.¹

By the time of David a civilization had arisen in the near vicinity of the Hebrews — whether derived from theirs or not is uncertain — and a literature had come into existence, some scanty fragments of which have descended the stream of time to our day. In the Phœnician towns on the coast of the Mediterranean, and again in the great city of Damascus in the interior, the practice of recording the names of their kings and the chief events of their reigns, seems to have begun about this time; and classical writers have preserved to us certain notices drawn from these sources, in which David and his acts are mentioned. David, it will be remembered — according to the narrative in Samuel, — after chastising the Philis-

Profane testimony with respect to David's wars.

¹ See Procop. *Bell. Vandal.* ii. 10; and compare Mor. Choren. *Hist. Armen.* i. 18, and Suidas ad voc. CANAAN.

tines, made war upon Hadadezer, king of Zobah, and defeated him (2 Sam. viii. 3), whereupon the Syrians of Damascus came to the aid of Hadadezer, and a war followed between the Israelites and these Syrians, which terminated in the complete defeat of the latter, and their reduction to the position of tributaries. This war was mentioned by Nic-

Testimony of
Nicolaus Da-
mascenus.

records of his native place. "After this," he said, "there was a certain Hadad, a native Syrian, who had great power: he ruled over Damascus, and all Syria, excepting Phœnicia. He likewise undertook a war with David, the King of Judæa, and contended against him in a number of battles; in the last of them all, which was by the river Euphrates, and in which he suffered defeat, showing himself a prince of the greatest courage and prowess."¹

The ancient Phœnician historiographers, whose works were carefully studied, and represented in Greek, by two writers of the time of Alexander the Great — Dius and Menander of Ephesus — spoke (we are told) of a Hiram, King of Tyre, as

Testimony of
Eupolemon.

¹ Nic. Dam. Fr. 31

reigning at this time, and appear to have noticed certain transactions in which he was engaged with David, at least Eupolemon must, it would seem, have drawn from this source, when he spoke of a war between Hiram and David, which is not mentioned in the Bible. And it is even probable that the entire account of David's wars in the same author, which is certainly not drawn from either Samuel or Chronicles, came also from this same quarter. "David," said Eupolemon,¹ "reduced the Syrians, who dwelt by the river Euphrates, and *Commagené*, and the *Assyrians and Phœnicians* who dwelt in the land of Gilead, and he made war on the Edomites, and the Ammonites, and Moabites, and *Ituræans and Nabatæans and Nabdæans*; moreover, he also made an expedition against Suron (Hiram or Hiram), king of Tyre and Phœnicia, and compelled all these people to pay tribute to the Jews." This narrative, which seems clearly to be derived from non-Jewish sources, is an important testimony to the truth of the history related in 2 Sam. viii. and ix. It confirms that history by a distinct mention of the chief conquests of David recorded in the Bible, while it adds to them

¹ See the fragments of Polyhistor in the *Fr. Hist. Gr.* vol. iii. p. 225; Fr. 18.

several others, which, though not recorded in Scripture, are intrinsically not improbable.

Besides these direct testimonies, there are a certain number of incidental allusions to the

Early preëminence of Sidon over Tyre confirmed.

condition of foreign nations in this portion of the Sacred Volume, which admit of being tested by a comparison with profane records, with a result which is in every case favorable to the historical accuracy of the Biblical writers. For instance, it is evident to the careful reader of Scripture that, in the earlier portion of the period under consideration, a preëminence over the other Phœnician cities is assigned to Sidon — “Great Sidon,” as she is called,¹ — while from the time of David this preëminency passes away, and Tyre steps into the place which Sidon had previously occupied. Now this shift in the balance of Phœnician power, this transfer of the chief authority from one city to another, is completely borne out by profane history, which tells us, in the first place, that Sidon was the mother-city of all Phœnicia,² and further indicates in a variety of ways her early superiority over the rest of

¹ Josh. xi. 8; xix. 28. Note the frequent mention of Sidon in Joshua and Judges (Josh. xiii. 4, 6; Judg. i. 31; iii. 3; x. 12; xviii. 7, 28); and contrast the single mention of Tyre (Josh. xix. 29).

² Justin. *Hist.* xviii. 3. Strab. *Geograph.* i. 2, § 33.

the Phœnician towns.¹ On the other hand it is universally acknowledged that Tyre had the præminence in later times; and if we were to fix the date of the revolution from profane history only, we should have to place it about B. C. 1050, or a little earlier, — that is, shortly before the accession of David.

Again, the narrative of Joshua represents to us the nation of the Hittites as being, at the time of the conquest of Canaan, Power of Hittites confirmed. the principal power in Upper Syria, or the country between Palestine and the Euphrates.² This fact is abundantly confirmed by the Egyptian remains, which show us the Hittites (*Sheta*) as the chief opponent of Egypt, in the valley of the Orontes, during the period occupied by the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties of Manetho,³ a period which must certainly include within it the judgeship of Joshua. The later power of the Hittites, as witnessed by the Assyrian inscriptions, accords with the Scriptural account, but does not directly confirm it, since the earliest Assyrian record⁴ in which the

¹ The early Egyptian inscriptions which mention the Phœnician towns give Sidon the first place. Homer mentions Sidon repeatedly, but never Tyre.

² See Josh. i. 4; ix. 1; xii. 8.

³ Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i. pp. 399–441.

⁴ *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, date about B. C. 1125.

Hittites obtain mention is not anterior to the twelfth century B. C., or from two to three centuries after Joshua.

As the Hittites appear in Joshua to be the dominant race to the north of Galilee, so does the whole narrative from Exodus to Samuel represent the Philistines as the dominant people of the tract between Judæa and Egypt.¹ Here, once more, the Egyptian records agree, since they assign to the Philistines the same sort of lead among the enemies of Egypt in the south which belongs to the Hittites in the regions of the north.² Indeed, so sensible are the Egyptians of their strength that they finally consent to make terms with this people, and guarantee them in the possession of the rich tract about Gaza, Ashdod, and Ascalon.³

Enough is not known of the manners and customs of the Canaanitish races from any source independent of Scripture to permit much illustration of the period between Moses and David, from a consideration of the usages of these nations incidentally noticed by the sacred writers. Still there are a few such points to

Philistine
power con-
firmed.

Manners and
customs de-
picted, con-
firmed, or
probable.

¹ See Josh. xiii. 3. Judg. iii. 3; x. 7; xiii. 1. 1 Sam. iv. xiii. 5-22, etc.

² Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, pp. 185-187.

³ Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i. p. 144.

which the reader's attention may be called. The military power of the northern races, the Hittites and their allies, is represented in Joshua (xi. 4) as consisting especially in the multitude of their chariots. This agrees with the Egyptian accounts, which similarly make the chariots of the Sheta their main force.¹ The worship of Ashtoreth by the Canaanitish nations generally (Judg. ii. 11-13), accords with a hieroglyphic inscription of Rameses II. which mentions *Astert* as a Hittite divinity.² The general character of the desert tribes, especially the Midianites and the Amalekites, as depicted in Judges (vi.-viii.), resembles closely the picture which the Egyptians draw of the Shaso. The gradual increase of Philistine power apparent in the Scriptural narrative harmonizes with the parallel decline of Egypt, which the monuments indicate.³ The curious name — *Shophetim*, or “Judges” — borne by the Hebrew rulers from Othniel to Samuel, receives light from the parallel term *Suffetes*, found to have been applied to the chief magistrates of Phœnician colonies. In other respects, the manners and customs depicted

¹ Lenormant, p. 413. Compare Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. iii. p. 175; and *Cambridge Essays* for 58, p. 240.

² Bunsen, p. 180.

³ On this decline, see Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 315; Bunsen, p. 218; Lenormant, pp. 445-451.

can only be pronounced natural, and thoroughly Oriental. The foot of the conqueror placed literally on the person of the conquered monarch (Josh. x. 24) before his execution, the cruel practice of mutilation (Judg. i. 6, 7),¹ the custom of blood-feuds (Josh. xx. 3; Judg. viii. 19), the intermixture in one and the same country of a dominant people and subject tribes (Judg. i. 19-36), the hiding of the latter when grievously oppressed, in dens and caves (Ib. vi. 2; 1 Sam. xiii. 6), the wearing of earrings by men (Judg. viii. 24-26, the spying of women through a lattice (Ib. v. 28), the employment of apologues (Ib. ix. 7-15), the setting and solving of riddles (Ib. xiv. 12-18), the shaving off of half the beard in derision (2 Sam. x. 4), these and a hundred other little points in the narrative are agreeable to the known practice of Eastern nations, and indicate that accuracy in details is no less a characteristic of the Sacred Volume than truthfulness in the main facts of the history. Such accuracy is sometimes found in works of the imagination, where it is necessary in order to render them life-like, and where it

¹ * For fuller details respecting these modes of punishment so peculiar, see Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. iii. p. 2640 ff., Amer. ed. — H.

is the result of much study and contrivance ; but it is scarcely observable in any but a faithful and contemporary *history*, where it comes without effort, costs no thought, and scarcely presents itself at all distinctly to the consciousness of the writer.

CHAPTER V.

KINGS AND CHRONICLES.

THE kingdom of Solomon is one of the most striking facts in the Biblical history. A petty nation, which for some hundreds of years has with difficulty maintained a separate existence in the midst of warlike tribes, each of which has in turn exercised dominion over it and oppressed it, is suddenly raised by the genius of a soldier monarch to glory and greatness. An empire is established which extends from the Euphrates to the borders of Egypt, a distance of 450 miles; and this empire, rapidly constructed, enters almost immediately on a period of peace, which lasts for half a century. Wealth, grandeur, architectural magnificence, artistic excellence, commercial enterprise, a position of dignity among the great nations of the earth,¹ are enjoyed during this space; at the end of which there is a sudden collapse, — the ruling nation is split in twain, the

Short-lived
empire of the
Jews under
David and Sol-
omon.

¹ On the real character of Solomon's kingdom, see Dean Stanley's article on DAVID, in the *Bibl. Dict.* vol. i. p. 408 and vol i. p. 551, Amer. ed.

subject races fall off, and the preëminence lately gained being wholly lost; the scene of struggle, strife, oppression, recovery, inglorious submission, and desperate effort recommences. To persons acquainted only with the history of the West, the whole series of events appears incredible; the entire analogy of history seems against them, since in Occidental records they have no parallel, and an inclination is naturally felt to question their historical truth, to regard them as either wholly invented, or at any rate as grossly exaggerated.

But a knowledge of the history of the East removes these impressions. In the East such a series of events is the reverse of abnormal. The rapid rise of petty states to greatness, the sudden change of an oppressed into a dominant power, is the rule. Babylon, Media, Persia, Parthia, all illustrate it. Duration of empire when obtained is more irregular. Sometimes a great power, when once formed, holds its own for many centuries, *e. g.* Assyria, Parthia, Sassanian Persia. But at other times a collapse occurs after a very brief space. The Babylonian empire lasted, at the utmost, eighty-seven, the Median seventy-five years.¹ This latter

Numerous Oriental parallels.

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. pp. 175, 222; *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 34.

instance furnishes almost an exact parallel to the empire of the Jews ; for the whole period of the empire is made up of two reigns, those of a father and a son, the former a warlike prince who constructs it, the latter a peaceful one who adorns it, and makes it the admiration of its neighbors ; and the collapse is brought about by a division between the two great sections of the ruling (Medo-Persic) race, and a war between them, which, however, has a somewhat different result from the war between the Ten Tribes and the Two. Short periods of great prosperity are, in fact, of ordinary occurrence among the States of the East, where so much more depends than in the West on the personal character of individuals, and where the vigor and energy which enable a chief to found an empire are rarely inherited by descendants born and bred up in a seraglio.

And if the analogy of Oriental history generally is thus favorable to the main Scriptural fact—the sudden rise, vast splendor, and rapid collapse of the empire of the Jews,—so is the analogy of the Oriental history of the time favorable to the character of the empire, as set before us in the Sacred Volume. “Solomon,” we are told, “reigned over *all the king-*

Character of
the Empire
borne out by
contemporary
history.

doms from the river (Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines and unto the borders of Egypt" (1 Kings iv. 21); and again, "Solomon had dominion over all the region on this side the river, from Tiph-sach (Thapsacus on the Euphrates) to Azzah (or Gaza), over *all the kings* on this side the river" (Ib. 24); "they *brought presents*" (Ib. 21); a "*rate year by year*" (Ib. x. 25); and "served Solomon all the days of his life" (Ib. iv. 21). Here we have a picture of a kind of empire exactly similar to those which profane records — and more especially the recently-discovered cuneiform inscriptions — show to have prevailed in the East at the period to which the empire of Solomon is assigned, and for some (though not very many) centuries afterwards. The modern system of centralized organization, by which the various provinces of a vast empire are cemented into a compact mass, was unknown to the ancient world, and has never been practiced by Asiatics. The satrapial system of government, or that in which the provinces maintain their individuality, but are administered on a common plan by officers appointed by the crown — which has prevailed generally throughout the East since the time of its first introduction, — was the invention of Darius Hystaspis¹ (ab. B. C.

¹ Herod. iii. 89.

520). Before his time the great monarchies of the East had a slighter and weaker organization. They were in all cases composed of a number of separate *kingdoms*, each under its own native king; and the sole link uniting them together and constituting them an empire was the subjection of these petty monarchs to a single suzerain. The Babylonian, Assyrian, Median, and Lydian were all empires of this type, — monarchies where a sovereign prince at the head of a powerful kingdom was acknowledged as suzerain, by a number of inferior princes, each in his own right sole ruler of his own country. And the subjection of the inferior princes consisted chiefly, if not solely, in two points: they were bound to render homage to their suzerain, and to pay him annually a certain stated tribute. Thus in Solomon's empire, as depicted in the book of Kings, we recognize at once a condition of things with which we are familiar from profane sources; and we see that at any rate the account given of it is in entire harmony with the political notions and practices of the day.

The fact of Solomon's rule over the Jews at the time which Scripture assigns to him, and the friendly relations in which he stood toward the Tyrian monarch, Hiram, were attested by the Tyrian

Solomon's
reign and rela-
tions with Hiram
attested
by Dios.

historians, on whose works Diodorus and Menander based their histories, as stated in a former chapter.¹ Diodorus, as reported by Josephus,² said, "On the death of Abibaal, his son Hiram mounted the Tyrian throne. He made a mound on the eastern side of the city, and enlarged the citadel, and attached to the city by means of a mole the temple of Jupiter (Baal?), which stood by itself on an island, and adorned the temple with golden offerings. Moreover, he cut timber in Mount Lebanon, to be used in the construction of his temples. And it is said that Solomon, who then reigned at Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and requested that riddles should be sent him in return, with the condition that the receiver should pay a sum of money to the sender if he could not find them out. The challenge was accepted by Hiram; and, as he could not discover the answers to Solomon's riddles, he had to pay him a large sum as a forfeit. After this, a Tyrian, called Abdemon, found out Solomon's riddles, and sent him others which Solomon could not solve. So Solomon, in his turn, forfeited a considerable sum to Hiram." Menander's testimony³ is very nearly to the same effect; but his account is less full, and

¹ See above, ch iv p. 96.

² *Contr. Apion.* i. 17.

³ *Ibid.* § 18.

therefore does not need to be quoted. The date of Hiram was fixed by the Tyrian historians to the close of the eleventh century before our era, since his accession was placed in the 156th year before the foundation of Carthage, and the foundation of Carthage was assigned to the seventh year of Pygmalion, or B. C. 864. The exchange of riddles between Hiram and Solomon, which is not related in Scripture, illustrates both the proceedings of Samson (Judg. xiv. 12-19) and those of the Queen of Sheba, when she sought to "prove Solomon by hard questions" (1 Kings x. 1).

The Tyrian histories witnessed, moreover, to the construction of the Temple by Solomon,¹ an event which they placed in the 144th year before the foundation of Carthage, or B. C. 1007.

Other points
attested by the
Tyrian histo-
ries.

They stated that several letters which had passed between Hiram and Solomon were preserved in the Tyrian archives;² and they further related, as we learn from Menander, that Solomon took to wife one of Hiram's daughters.³ This last fact, though not distinctly mentioned in Scripture, is probably glanced at in the statement (1 Kings xi. 1),

¹ *Contr. Apion.* § 17.

² *Joseph. c. Ap. i.* § 17.

³ *Menand. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. i.* p. 336.

that "King Solomon loved many strange women, together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, *Zidonians*, and Hittites."

It might have been expected that the Egyptian records would have afforded illustrations of the reign of Solomon. Solomon's principal wife was the daughter of a Pharaoh, and a portion of his dominions accrued to him through this marriage (1 Kings ix. 16). One of his adversaries was married to another Egyptian princess, the sister of Tahpenes, wife of an Egyptian monarch (Ib. xi. 19). Late in his reign, a subject whom he suspected took refuge in Egypt, and was favorably received by Shishak, who was then king (Ib. 40). But the Egyptian records of the period are peculiarly scanty. The monarchs of the twenty-first dynasty have left scarcely any memorials. All that appears from them is that Egypt was at this time exceedingly weak, that she had no foreign wars, and that Egyptian princesses were occasionally married to subjects and foreigners.¹ The names of Solomon, Hadad, Jeroboam, Tahpenes, do not occur. The name of Shishak is, however, found under the form of Sheshonk ; his date

Scanty illustration of his reign from the parallel history of Egypt.

¹ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, tom. i p. 452.

accords with that of Solomon; and he appears as the founder of a new dynasty, and therefore as a prince who might naturally change the relations previously subsisting between Judæa and Egypt. But, on the whole, the illustration under this head is scanty and disappointing.

In one respect, however, the history of Egypt and the parallel history of Assyria harmonize very remarkably with the Hebrew accounts, rendering that which seems most extraordinary and abnormal in them readily comprehensible, natural, and even probable. When we glance over the general relations and consider the natural resources of the three countries — Egypt, Palestine, Assyria, — it seems at first sight most unlikely that the weak intermediate country should at any time have been able to assert herself, and to maintain undisturbed for above half a century an empire over regions generally claimed by one or other, or by both, of the great powers between which she lay. Under ordinary circumstances, when Egypt and Assyria, or either of them, were in their vigor, the assumption of such a position by Judæa may be pronounced simply impossible. But the monuments of both countries show that, exactly

Date assigned
to Solomon's
Empire in har-
mony with
both Egyptian
and Assyrian
history.

at the time when the Jewish empire is placed by the sacred writers, there was, both in Egypt and in Assyria, a temporary decay and depression. Assyria, which in the twelfth century bore rule over most of Northern Syria, passes under a cloud towards the commencement of the eleventh, and continues weak and inglorious till nearly the close of the tenth.¹ Egypt declines somewhat earlier, but recovers sooner, her depression commencing about B. c. 1200, and terminating with the accession of Sheshonk, about B. c. 990.² It is only in the interval between the decline of Assyria, B. c. 1100, and the recovery of Egypt, B. c. 990, that such an empire as that ascribed to Solomon would have been allowed to exist; and exactly into this interval the Solomonian empire falls according to the sacred writers.

Among the accessories of the history of Solomon there are numerous points on which profane history sheds a light; but the space within which these Illustrations must be confined will only allow of special attention being called to two. These are the pictures drawn of Phœnician civilization at the time, and the character of the art which forms so remarkable a

Picture of the
Phœnicians
confirmed by
profane au-
thors.

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 332–336.

² Lenormant, *Manuel*, tom. i. pp. 449–452.

feature of Solomon's reign. Phœnician civilization is represented as consisting especially in the possession of nautical skill, of extensive commerce, and of excellence in the mechanical and ornamental arts and employments. None "can skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians" (1 Kings v. 6). They are "cunning to work in gold, and in silver, in brass, and in iron, and in purple, and in blue, and in crimson" (2 Chr. ii. 7); they "can skill to grave gravings" (Ib.). Hiram of Tyre casts for Solomon all his vessels for the Temple service, and, especially the two huge pillars, Jachin and Boaz, which stood in front of the porch, and the great laver called "the molten sea" (1 Kings vii. 21-23). Skill in the mechanical processes of art and in ornamentation is what we find ascribed to them; not artistic excellence in the highest and best sense of the words. Closely in accordance with this is the character of Phœnician civilization, which we derive from the Greeks. Their early nautical skill and extensive trade are mentioned by Homer and Herodotus, the former of whom speaks especially of their beautifully embroidered robes and their bowls of silver.¹ Their "skill to hew timber,"

¹ Herod. i. 1; iv. 148. Hom. *Il.* vi. 289; xxiii. 743; *Od.* iv. 614; xv. 417, etc.

even at this remote time, was attested by their own historians, as also was their practice of making large metal pillars.¹ Such remains of their art as have come down to us are of the character indicated. They consist of engraved gems and cylinders, and of metal bowls, plain, or embossed with figures.² In no instance do the figures show any real artistic excellence.

[* A few years ago certain letters or markings were found at Jerusalem on the bottom rows of the wall at the southeast angle of the Haram, at the depth of ninety feet, near where Solomon's Temple must have stood. Mr. E. Deutsch, of the British Museum, who saw them on the ground, decides that they must have been put there when the stones were laid *in situ*, and that they are Phœnician.³ Similar marks are found on primitive substructures in the harbor of Sidon at the present day. It has been suggested, as the most probable explanation of these marks here, that they were put there by Tyrian architects whom Hiram or Hiram⁴ sent to assist Solomon in the erection of the Temple,

¹ See the fragment of Dios quoted above, p. 100, and compare Menand. ap. Joseph. c. Ap. i. 18.

² Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 186, 606.

³ * See *Quarterly Statement of the Pal. Expl. Fund*, No. ii. (1869). — H.

⁴ * Different forms of the same name. Hiram occurs especially in Chronicles, and is a Masoretic variation of Hiram. — H.

as we learn from 1 K. v. 10, 18, and 2 Chr. ii. 11 ff. Yet we may not insist on this coincidence, because the Hebrews and the Tyrians at that period may have used the same written form of letters or figures, and hence the Hebrew architects may have placed them there.]

The art of Solomon's reign presents numerous points of agreement with the style of

Art of Solomon in close accord with that disclosed by the Assyrian remains.

art recently discovered to have prevailed in Mesopotamia and the adjacent countries at a time not much subsequent. The modern historian of architecture finds in the ruins of Nineveh and Palestine the best means of illustrating and explaining the edifices with which Solomon adorned Jerusalem.¹ The "House of the Forest of Lebanon"² resembles clearly the "Throne-room" of an Assyrian or Persian palace. Its proportions, its cedar roofing, its numerous columns, its windows and doors squared at top, are all in keeping with Assyrian or Persian examples; with which accord also the separation of the entire palace into several distinct groups of buildings, the inclusion within the palace of large courts, the

¹ Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. Compare *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 659; and vol. iii. p. 2283, Amer. ed.

² * See 1 K. vii. 2, x. 17, 21; 2 Chr. iv. 16, 20. It was so called from being largely built of cedar or adorned with cedar pillars from Lebanon. — H.

paving of the courts with stone, and the employment of slabs of stone as a facing to the walls of the palace (1 Kings vii. 9). The overlaying of the Temple with pure gold (Ib. vi. 21, 22), so marvelous to moderns, accords with the Babylonian, the Assyrian, and the Median practice; the ornamentation of the same building, and its furniture, with cherubims (probably winged bulls), palm-trees, and open flowers (Ib. vi. 32), and again with pomegranates and lions (Ib. viii. 18, 29), is thoroughly Assyrian; the height of the pillars Jachin and Boaz, and the size and complicated character of their capitals, have parallels at Persepolis; the lions that guard the steps of Solomon's throne (Ib. x. 20), recall the lion figures at the Assyrian palace gates; the "throne of ivory" (Ib. 18), accords with the fragments of ivory furniture found at Nineveh.¹ In these and numerous other respects, the art ascribed to Solomon by the sacred writers receives illustration from remains, most of which were buried at the period when they compiled their histories, and have been for the first time uncovered in our day.

Of the divided kingdom which followed upon the death of Solomon, the Assyrian records furnish numerous, and the Egyptian a

¹ Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 194-196.

few illustrations. The most important Egyptian notice is contained in an inscription erected by Shishak (Sheshonk) at Karnak, which has been most carefully studied by modern scholars, and may be regarded as having completely yielded up its contents. This document is a list of the countries, cities, and tribes, conquered in his great expedition by Shishak, and regarded by him as his tributaries. It contains, not only a distinct mention of "Judah," as a "kingdom" which Shishak had subjugated,¹ but also a long list of Palestinian towns, from which an important light is thrown on the character of the expedition commemorated, and the relations subsisting between Judah and Israel in the early part of Solomon's reign. Among the cities mentioned are not only, as might have been expected, a certain number of the cities of Judah, but several in the territory of the Ten Tribes, which one would have supposed subject to Jeroboam, Shishak's *protégé* and ally, and therefore unlikely to have been treated hostilely by the Egyptians. Examination, however, of these cities shows that they fall into the two classes of Levitical towns, and towns originally Ca-

Shishak's expedition against Judah confirmed by one of his inscriptions.

¹ Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 316, 2d ed.; Stuart Poole in *Biblical Dictionary*, ad voc. SHISHAK.

naanite ; and the explanation of their appearance in the list seems to be, that Jeroboam was not at first firmly established in the whole of his kingdom, but that the Levites held to Rehoboam (see 2 Chr. xi. 13), while the remnant of the Canaanites probably reasserted their independence. Shishak therefore directed his arms against these two classes of cities, handing them over, probably, when he had taken them, to Jeroboam, who thereby became master of the whole territory of the Ten Tribes, which he held, probably, as a fief under the Egyptian crown.

Shishak's invasion of Palestine was followed within about thirty years (according to the book of Chronicles) by another great attack from the same quarter. Zerah's expedition against Asa. Zerah, the Ethiopian, at the head of a vast army, composed of Ethiopians and Libyans, invaded Judæa in the reign of Asa, the grandson of Rehoboam, but was completely defeated by him, and forced to an ignominious flight. It was not likely that we should obtain any direct confirmation of this expedition from the other side, since Oriental monarchs do not generally record their disasters ;¹

¹ * It is said that no record of the death of a king has yet been found on the Assyrian monuments. Certainly this singular reserve exceeds very much that of the French mortuary valediction and salutation: *Le roi est mort : vive le roi !* — H.

but hieroglyphical scholars are able to point out two monarchs, reigning about this time in the valley of the Nile, having names that accords sufficiently with the Hebrew Zerah, one or other of whom would seem to have been the leader of the invasion. The Egyptian throne was occupied from about B. C. 956 to 933 by an *Osorchon*, who may have been by birth an Ethiopian ;¹ and the throne of Ethiopia was filled about the same time by a king named *Azerch-Amar*, whose monuments are found at Napata.² The Hebrew practice of abbreviating foreign names (seen in So, Shalman, etc.) may have caused either of these names to be expressed by Zerah.

During the reign of Asa over Judah, the sister kingdom was the scene of great disorders. Revolution followed revolution. Four dynasties rapidly succeeded each other. Two kings were assassinated ; one burnt himself in his palace. At length a certain Omri attained to power, and succeeded in introducing greater stability into the Israelite state. Removing the capital to a new site, Samaria, and establishing a new system of laws, which were

Greatness of
Omri con-
firmed by the
Assyrian in-
scriptions.

¹ The second Osorchon married the sister of the preceding king, and ruled in right of his wife.

² Lenormant, *Manuel*, tom. i. pp. 253, 453.

thenceforth observed (Mic. vi. 16), he so firmly fixed his dynasty upon the throne, that it continued during three generations and four reigns before it was succeeded by another. A monarch of this capacity might be expected to get himself a name among his neighbors; and accordingly we find in the Assyrian inscriptions of the time that his name is the Israelite name with which they are most familiar.¹ Samaria is known to the Assyrians for some centuries merely as Beth-Omri, "the house" or "city of Omri;" and even when they come into contact with Israelite monarchs of the house which succeeded Omri's upon the throne, they still regard them as descendants of the great chief whom they view perhaps as the founder of the kingdom.² Thus the Assyrian records agree generally with the Hebrew in the importance which

¹ * The most skeptical writers recognize the significance of this agreement of Assyrian and Jewish history. See De Wette-Schrader's *Einleit. in das A. und N. Test.* p. 320 (1869). In some minor details the Assyrian readings may be still uncertain; but of the great bulk of them, there is no more doubt than of the renderings of one spoken language into another. On this subject, see "Ninive," by F. Spiegel in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* vol. x. pp. 361-381 (1858), and especially, under the same title, vol. xx. pp. 219-235 (1866). See also *Testimony of Assyrian Inscriptions to the Truth of Scripture*, by Rev. T. Laurie, formerly missionary at Mosul (*Bibl. Sacra*, xiv. pp. 147-165). — H.

² See the *Black Obelisk Inscription*, where Jehu is called "the son of Omri."

they assign to this monarch; and specially confirm the fact (related in 1 Kings xvi. 24), that he was the founder of the later Israelite metropolis, Samaria.¹

Omri's name appears also on another very recently discovered monument. The stêlé of Mesha, king of Moab, erected at Dibon in the Moabite country about B. C. 900, twenty or thirty years after Omri's death, records that he reduced the Moabites to subjection, and began an oppression under which they groaned, till Mesha reëstablished their independence.² This notice agrees well with the Hebrew date for Omri, and with the mention that is made of his "might" in 1 Kings xvi. 27.

Omri's son and successor, Ahab, is mentioned by name in an Assyrian contemporary inscription, which, agreeably to the account given in the First Book of Kings with respect to the place of his ordinary residence (1 Kings xviii. 46; xxi. 1, 2), calls him "Ahab of Jezreel."³ The inscrip-

¹ * In accordance with this concurrent biblical and monumental testimony, Dean Stanley treats of the reign of "the house of Omri" as one of the great epochs of Jewish history (*Lectures on the Jewish Church*, vol. ii. pp. 313-376). — H.

² See Dr. Ginsburg's *Moabite Stone*, pp. 31-33; [and Appendix No. 2, in this edition of the work.]

³ M. Oppert reads "Ahab of Israel" (*Histoire des Empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie*, p. 140); but Sir H. Rawlinson regards

tion tells us that Ahab on a certain occasion joined in a league of kings against the Assyrians, and furnished to the confederate army, that was brought into the field, a force of 10,000 footmen and 2,000 chariots. The allies suffered defeat, and Ahab appears thenceforth to have abstained from offering any opposition to Assyria. Among the confederate monarchs with whom he leagued himself was the Damascene king, Benhadad, whom Scripture also makes Ahab's contemporary.

The relations here exhibited as subsisting between Ahab and Benhadad may appear at first sight difficult to reconcile with those described in Kings, where Benhadad is Ahab's chief foreign enemy (1 Kings xx. and xxii.). But if we carefully examine the sacred text, we shall see that there is express mention of an interval of peace as having occurred between the two great Syrian wars of Ahab — an interval estimated at three years (1 Kings xxii. 1), — during which period the two monarchs were friends. The alliance with Benhadad against the Assyrians may well have fallen into this space.¹ Indeed, it throws light both on the readiness of Ahab to grant the Assyrian word as corresponding more closely to the Hebrew "Jezreel."

¹ The Assyrian chronology requires as the date of the alliance a *late* year in the reign of Ahab.

the Syrian monarch favorable terms when he had him in his power (1 Kings xx. 34), and on his exasperation at the terms granted not being observed (Ib. xxii. 3), if we suppose that Ahab made his covenant with Benhadad in contemplation of an impending Assyrian invasion; that when the invasion came, he helped Benhadad to resist it; and that then Benhadad, setting at nought the obligations both of honor and gratitude, refused to fulfil the engagement by means of which he had obtained his liberty.

The Moabite stone also speaks of Ahab, though not by name. "Omri," it tells us,

His oppression
of Moab re-
corded on the
Moabite stone.

"King of Israel, oppressed Moab many days, for Chemosh was angry with his land. *His son succeeded him*, and he also said, I will oppress Moab." ¹

This passage agrees well with the statements of the Second Book of Kings (i. 1, and iii. 4, 5), that the Moabites were subject to Ahab throughout his reign, and paid him annually the enormous tribute of "an hundred thousand lambs, and an hundred thousand rams with the wool." Such a tribute (even if the wool alone, and not the animals, is intended) would undoubtedly have been felt

¹ See Dr. Ginsburg's *Essay on the Moabite Stone*, p. 13. [See also Appendix No. 2, at the end of this volume.]

by the people who paid it as extremely oppressive.¹

The ancient Tyrian histories may also be quoted as illustrative of the reign of Ahab, though they do not expressly mention him. The author of Kings (1 Kings xvi. 31) relates that Ahab "took to wife Jezebel, the daughter of Eth-baal, king of the Zidonians." This "Eth-baal" appeared as "Eithobalus" in Dios and Menander, who made him the sixth king of Tyre after Hiram, reckoning the interval between the two at fifty years, and giving Eithobalus a reign of thirty-two years,² whereby he would be exactly contemporary with Ahab. Moreover, the Tyrian histories related that Eithobalus was high-priest of Astarte (or Ashtoreth), which accounts in a

¹ * Some think the tribute was not an annual one, but exacted only once. It is not necessary to adopt that view. "The extraordinary number of ruins scattered over the country," says Mr. Grove, "are a sure token of its wealth in former ages." (*Bibl. Dict.* vol. iii. p. 1987, Amer. ed.) Recent travellers confirm this testimony. "Everything in Moab speaks of its former wealth and cultivation. Even yet, though the soil is badly tended by the few Arab tribes that inhabit it, large tracts of pasture land and extensive corn-fields meet the eye at every turn. Ruined cottages and towers, broken walls that inclosed gardens and vineyards, remains of ancient roads, meet the traveller at every step." See *Our Work in Palestine*, p. 322. Our American explorers now in that region may be expected to settle many similar questions relating to the Bible. — H.

² See Joseph. *contr. Ap.* i. 18.

measure for the religious fanaticism of his daughter. They further stated that during the reign of this monarch, there was a severe drought in Phœnicia,¹ which may not unreasonably be connected with the three years' want of rain, mentioned in Kings (1 Kings xvii. 1; xviii. 1).

The rebellion of Moab, which is the first fact assigned by the writer of Kings to the reign of Ahaziah, Ahab's elder son and successor (2 Kings i. 1), has recently had much light thrown upon it by the discovery of the monument (already referred to) erected to commemorate the occurrence.² The "Mesha, king of Moab," who threw off the Israelite yoke (2 Kings iii. 4, 5), inscribed upon a pillar, which he set up in his own land, the series of events whereby he had restored his country to independence; and the inscription upon this pillar has recently, by the combined labor of various Semitic scholars, been recovered, deciphered, and translated into the languages of modern Europe.³ It appears from this document, as already noticed, that a griev-

The revolt of Moab from Ahaziah, the main subject of the Moabite stone.

¹ Menand. ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* viii. 13.

² See Appendix No. 2.

³ See the various translations collected by Dr. Ginsburg at the close of his Essay (pp. 42, 43); [and see also Appendix No. 2, in this volume.]

ous oppression of the Moabites was begun by Omri and continued by his son Ahab; who together oppressed the nation for a space which Mesha reckons roughly at forty years. After this, probably in the first year of Ahaziah, the Moabites rebelled. Mesha attacked and took the various towns which were occupied by Israelite garrisons throughout the country, and after a sharp struggle made himself master of the whole territory. He then rebuilt such of the Moabite cities as had fallen into decay during the period of the oppression, strengthening their fortifications, and otherwise restoring and beautifying them.

Of the reign of Jehoram, Ahaziah's successor, we have no profane illustration; but the Assyrian monument known as "the Black Obelisk," contains a notice of the next Israelite monarch, Jehu, and another of the Syrian king who succeeded Benhadad, Hazael. Hazael appears as the chief antagonist of the Assyrian invaders of Syria, in immediate succession to Benhadad;¹ and Jehu, who is called "the son of Omri," is declared to have sent ambassadors to the Assyrian capital with presents or tribute.² The facts here recorded

Mention of
Hazael and
Jehu on the
Black Obelisk

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 364.

² *Ibid.* p. 365. Jehu's ambassadors are represented, bringing the tribute, on the Black Obelisk.

* Instead of "Jehu's ambassadors" in this note we should

are not mentioned in Scripture ; and the "illustration" consists simply in the mention at an appropriate time, under appropriate circumstances, and in proper sequence, of persons who play an important part in the Sacred History.

A more interesting point of agreement than the bare mention in the same chronological order of the same historic names, is to be found in the accord between the general picture of Syria at this time, as presented to us in our Sacred Books, and the representation of it given by the Assyrian records. In both we find the country between the middle Euphrates and Egypt parceled out among a large number of tribes or nations, of whom the most powerful are, in the north, the Hittites, the Hamathites, the Phœnicians, and the Syrians of Damascus ; in the south, the Philistines and the Idumæans. In both there is a similar portrait of Syria of Damascus as a considerable state, the strongest in these parts, ruled from a single centre by a single monarch. The same general character, and the same secondary position, is in both assigned to Hamath,

Agreement of
the Assyrian
monuments
with Scripture
as to the con-
dition of Syria,
B. C. 900-800.

substitute "Ahab's ambassadors" according to Prof. Rawlinson's corrections in his *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iv. p. 576. This makes a change of a few years only in the time of the first contact between the Assyrians and the Israelites, but does not affect at all the value of the Biblical corroboration. — H.

which, like Damascus, has its single king (2 Kings xix. 13 ; 1 Chr. xviii. 9), but is evidently a kingdom of less strength. In contrast with these two centralized monarchies stand the nations of the Hittites and the Phœnicians, each of which has several independent kings or chiefs, the number in the case of the Hittites being, apparently, very great (1 Kings x. 29 ; comp. xx. 1). The military strength of the northern nations consists especially, according to both authorities, in their chariots, besides which they have a numerous infantry, but few or no horsemen. Both authorities show that, in this divided state of Syria, the kings of the various countries were in the habit of forming leagues, uniting their forces, and making conjoint expeditions against foreign countries. Lastly, in both pictures we see in the background the two great powers of Egypt and Assyria, not yet in conflict with one another, not yet able, either of them, to grasp the dominion of Syria, or crush the spirit of its brave and freedom-loving peoples, but both feeling their way towards a conquest, and tending to come into a collision which will establish the complete preponderance of the one or the other in the region lying between the Nile and the Euphrates.

From early in the reign of Jehu over Israel, till late in that of Azariah (or Uzziah)¹ over Judah, — a period of about a hundred years, — the Assyrian annals are silent with respect to the events and persons mentioned in Scripture. The monarchs who warred in Southern Syria and Palestine have left no detailed account of their campaigns, or at any rate none has been discovered hitherto; and we consequently know nothing beyond the broad facts, that in the earlier part of the period Assyria still claimed dominion over Syria of Damascus, Phœnicia, and Samaria,² while in the later she fell into a depressed condition, suffered from revolts within her own proper territory,³ and left the Syrians to follow their own devices. This temporary weakness of the great Asiatic kingdom in the earlier half of the eighth century B. C., is in harmony with the statements of Scripture, that about this time both Israel and Judah were able to assume an aggressive attitude, and to enlarge their borders at the expense of their neighbors. Uzziah in Judah, Jeroboam the second,

Depression of Assyria B. C. 800-750 according with increase of Jewish power at that time.

¹ * Probably forms of the same name, though regarded by some as different. See Winer's *Bibl. Wörterbuch*, vol. ii. p. 648. — H.

² *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 378, 379.

³ Seven years of revolt are mentioned in the Assyrian canon between B. C. 763 and 746.

and Menahem in Israel, extended their authority over the border nations, Uzziah reducing Philistia and Ammon (2 Chr. xxvi. 6-8), Jeroboam conquering Hamath and Damascus (2 Kings xiv. 28), and Menahem making himself master of the entire tract between Samaria and the Euphrates at Thapsacus (Ib. xv. 16). It was only when the power that claimed to be mistress of Western Asia was exceptionally weak that such third-rate states as Judæa and Samaria could presume to attempt extensive conquests.

It is into the period which we are here considering that an event falls which constitutes almost the only important historical difficulty that now meets the inquirer into the harmony between the sacred and the profane, the only dark place in the narrative which recent discoveries might have been expected to illumine, yet which they have not illumined, but have left in all its previous obscurity. This event is the invasion of Samaria, about B. C. 760-750, by a monarch who is called "Pul, king of Assyria" (2 Kings xv. 19; 1 Chr. v. 26); who came up against Israel in the reign of Menahem, and forced that prince to acknowledge his suzerainty, and to pay him a tribute of a thousand talents. Of this Pul the Assyrian records tell

The Assyrian records silent with respect to Pul.

us nothing. On the contrary, they in a certain sense exclude him, since in the lists of Assyrian monarchs who reigned about this period, — lists which profess to be, and apparently are, complete, — there is no mention of Pul, and no indication of any place at which his reign can be inserted. It seems certain that the later monarchs of Assyria, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esar-haddon, Asshur-bani-pal, did not acknowledge any monarch of the name of Pul among their predecessors on the Assyrian throne.¹ They filled that throne, at the date assigned to Pul in Scripture, with a prince whose name is completely different,² and they moreover made this prince a *fainéant*, who scarcely ever led out his army beyond the frontier, and eschewed all distant expeditions.

In this silence of the Assyrian annals with respect to Pul, we turn to the ancient historian of Mesopotamia, Berosus, and we find that we have not turned to him in vain. Berosus mentioned Pul, and placed him exactly at this period; but he called him a “Chaldæan,” and not an “Assyrian” monarch.³ If this were the case, if Pul

Pul mentioned
by Berosus.
His (probable)
real position.

¹ The numerous copies of the Assyrian Canon all agree in the order of the kings. None of them show any signs of a gap.

² The name is commonly read as “Asshur-lush,” or “Asshur-likkis.”

³ Ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 4.

reigned at Babylon and not at Nineveh, the Assyrian records might naturally enough be silent about him. But why, it may be asked, did the sacred writers not term him "King of Babylon," if this was his real position. It would perhaps be enough to answer that the Great Power of Western Asia, at any time after the rise of the Assyrian Empire, was reckoned by the Jews to have inherited that empire, and was therefore called "King of Assyria," as Nabopolassar is in 2 Kings xxiii. 29, and Darius Hystaspis in Ezra vi. 22. But there was perhaps a further reason for the title being used of Pul at this time. The Assyrian annals show, from about B. C. 763, a disintegration of the Assyrian dominion — a breaking off of the provinces from the rule of Nineveh, and a weakness on the part of the Ninevite monarchs, which may well have allowed of the western provinces passing under the authority of an ambitious Babylonian prince, who, being master of the portion of Assyria nearest to them, would necessarily appear to the Jews to be "King of Assyria." This probably was the position of Pul. He was a "Chaldæan," who, in the troublous times that fell upon Assyria, about B. C. 763-760, obtained the dominion over Western Mesopotamia, and who, invading Syria from

the quarter whence the Assyrian armies were wont to come, and being at the head of Assyrian troops, appeared to the Jews as much an Assyrian monarch as the princes that held their court at Nineveh.

With the reign of Tiglath-pileser in Assyria, and those of Azariah and Ahaz in Judah, and of Menahem and Pekah in Israel, points of contact between the Assyrian and the Hebrew records become abundant. Tiglath-pileser relates that, about his fifth year

The Assyrian records abundantly illustrate Tiglath-pileser's relations with Israel, Judah, and Syria.

(B. C. 741), being engaged in wars in Southern Syria, he met and defeated a vast army under the command of Azariah, king of Judah, the great monarch whose host is reckoned in Chronicles at 307,500 men, and whose military measures are described at considerable length (2 Chr. xxvi. 6-15). Again, he relates that from his twelfth to his fourteenth year (B. C. 734-732) he carried on a war in the same regions with the two kings, Pekah of Samaria, and Rezin of Damascus, who were confederate together, and that he besieged Rezin in his capital for two years, at the end of which time he captured him and put him to death, while he punished Pekah, by muleting him of a large portion of his dominions, and carrying off vast numbers of his subjects

into captivity.¹ It is scarcely necessary to point out how completely this account harmonizes with the Scriptural narrative, according to which Pekah and Rezin, having formed an alliance against Ahaz, and having attacked him, Ahaz called in the aid of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, who “hearkened to him, and went up against Damascus, *and took it*, and carried the people captive to Kir, and *slew Rezin*” (2 Kings xvi. 9); and who likewise punished Pekah by invading his territory and carrying away the Reubenites, the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh (2 Kings xv. 29; 1 Chr. v. 6, 26), and settling them in Gozan in the Khabour. Further, Tiglath-pileser relates that before quitting Syria he held his court at Damascus, and there received submission and tribute from the neighboring sovereigns, among whom he expressly mentions, not only Pekah of Samaria, but “*Yahu-Khazi* (*i. e.* Ahaz), king of Judah.”² This passage of the Assyrian annals very remarkably illustrates the account given in 2 Kings xvi. 10–16, of the visit of Ahaz to Damascus “to meet King Tiglath-pileser.”

The annals of Tiglath-pileser contain also some mention of the two Israelite monarchs,

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 131, 132. Compare Lenormant *Manuel*, tom. ii. p. 86.

² *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 133, 2d ed

Menahem and Hoshea. Menahem appears as tributary to Assyria in the early part of Tiglath-pileser's reign (about B. C. 743); and Hoshea makes submission to the Assyrian monarch, probably in his last year, B. C. 728.¹ These Assyrian dates involve a certain amount of chronological difficulty when compared with the Hebrew; but the Hebrew dates of the time are evidently in confusion, the original numbers, as given by the sacred writers, having certainly been corrupted in many instances. To produce a complete accord between the two chronologies at this point, we should have to give Pekah a reign of ten, instead of twenty years.

Of Hoshea, the last Israelite king, there is no further mention in the Assyrian annals.

Shalmaneser's Syrian wars noticed by Menander. Shalmaneser, the Assyrian monarch, who was engaged in hostilities with him for several years, has left no records; which may be accounted for by the shortness of his reign, or by the fact that he was succeeded by a usurper. The Assyrian canon, however, agrees with Scripture in making Shalmaneser king directly after Tiglath-pileser; and Menander of Ephesus spoke of his warring in Southern Syria, where he said that Tyre was besieged by him for five years.²

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 130, 133.

² Menand. ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14.

Hoshea's league with "So, king of Egypt" (2 Kings xvii. 4), admits of some illustration from the Egyptian records, since it is almost exactly at the time of Hoshea's reign that a change occurs in the dynastic lists of Egypt, which is accompanied by a recovery of vigor on the part of that power and a resumption of the old policy of aggression. Manetho's twenty-fifth, or Ethiopian, dynasty appears to have extended its influence into Lower Egypt about B. C. 725,¹ or a little later; and the "So" (*Seveh*, or *Sava*) of Kings may reasonably be identified with the first monarch of this dynasty, the Sabaco of Manetho and Herodotus, and the Shebek I. of the hieroglyphical inscriptions. This prince, who contended with Sargon in Southern Palestine a little later,² may well have attracted the regard of Hoshea, when, about B. C. 724 or 723, he was looking out for some powerful ally who might help him to throw off the yoke of Assyria. The league formed between the two neighbors is natural, and has many analogies; so too has the Egyptian monarch's desertion of his *protégé* in the hour of peril, a course of conduct only too familiar to Egyptian princes.

¹ Lenormant, *Manuel*, tom. i. p. 457.

² *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 143-145.

"So, king of Egypt," noticed on the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments.

The capture of Samaria, and the deportation of its people by the Assyrians, which terminated the reign of Hoshea, and at the same time brought the kingdom of Israel to an end, is noticed in the annals of Sargon,¹ who was Shalmaneser's successor, and assigned by him to his first year, which was B. C. 722-721. Here, it will be observed, there is an exact accord between the Assyrian and the Hebrew dates, the Hebrew chronology placing the fall of Samaria in the 135th year before the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, which was in the 18th year of that king, or B. C. 586 (and B. C. 586 + 135 producing B. C. 721). Again, Sargon relates that he carried away captive from Samaria 27,280 persons; and he subsequently states that he transported numerous prisoners from Babylonia to a place "in the land of the Hittites," which is probably Samaria, though the inscription is not at this point quite legible (compare 2 Kings xvii. 24). It may be objected that, according to the narrative of Kings, Shalmaneser, and not Sargon, appears as the conqueror of Hoshea and captor of

The fall of Samaria related in the Assyrian records.

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 141.

* The "annals" meant above are the Assyrian inscriptions which furnish this information. The principal monuments which relate to Sargon are now in the Louvre at Paris. See Prof. Rawlinson's article on SARGON, in Smith's *Bibl. Dict* vol. iv. p. 2844, Amer. ed. — H.

Samaria (Ib. 3-6); and undoubtedly this is the impression produced on the ordinary reader; but a careful examination of the text of Kings removes this impression, and rather produces a contrary one. For while in the first passage where the capture is mentioned (2 Kings xvii. 3-6), the name of Shalmaneser occurs only in verse 3, and subsequently, in verses 4, 5, and 6, the phrase used four times is "the King of Assyria," who *may* at any point in the narrative be a new monarch, in the second passage (2 Kings xviii. 9-11) there seems to be a distinct intimation that Shalmaneser was *not* the actual captor, since the phrase is changed, and while we are told that "he (Shalmaneser) came up against Samaria and besieged it" (xviii. 9), in the following verse the expression used is, "*THEY took it.*" Had the same monarch who began the siege effected the capture, the writer would naturally have said, "and at the end of three years *he* took it."¹

¹ * Without separating the subject of the first verb so distinctly from that of the second verb, we may suppose that Shalmaneser, though he did not himself capture Samaria, prepared the way for it by his invasion of the land of Israel and his siege of Samaria. The Hebrew writer (2 K. xviii. 10) may have had in mind that coöperation and may have meant to recognize it by passing thus abruptly from the singular to the plural. Hence "they" in the A. V. (not expressed in the Hebrew) would stand for Assyrians, and include Shalmaneser among them. — H.

The discovery itself of Sargon as a real Assyrian king, the successor of Shalmaneser, and the predecessor and father of Sennacherib, is an important illustration of Scripture, since, until the name was recovered from the Assyrian monuments, there was no confirmation at all of Isaiah's mention of Sargon, King of Assyria (xx. 1), nor any means of determining the place of this monarch in the Assyrian lists. The passage of Isaiah stood by itself, the sole evidence during five-and-twenty centuries of there ever having been an Assyrian king of the name; and many critics and historians were led in consequence to doubt his distinct personality, and to identify him with Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, or Esarhaddon.¹ The Assyrian discoveries have put an end to all surmises of this character, and have given to Sargon a definite position, a marked individuality, and an important place in the sacred narrative. It appears to be Sargon who is intended in 2 Kings xvii. 6, 24, and xviii. 11, as well as in Isa. xx. 1, 4, and 6. Isaiah's mention of his capturing Ashdod, and being engaged in hostilities with the Egyptians and the Ethiopians, is confirmed by the Assyrian records,² which also illustrate very remarkably

Sargon's records confirm Isa. xx. and 2 Kings xvii. 6.

¹ See Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, ad voc. SARGON.

² *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 142-147, 2d edit.

the statement, that, when he carried the Samaritans into captivity, he placed some of them "in the cities of the Medes." For Sargon relates that, having overrun a large portion of Media, he seized a number of the towns, and "annexed them to Assyria," which, according to the system regularly followed by him in his conquests,¹ would involve his occupying them with colonists from a distance.

The Hebrew records relate that Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, after having borne the Assyrian yoke which his father had accepted, for a certain time, revolted, and trusting in the aid of Egypt, like the Israelite monarch, Hoshea, resumed his independence. Thus provoked, "Sennacherib," we are told, "King of Assyria, came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them; and Hezekiah, King of Judah, sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended: return from me: that which thou puttest upon me I will bear: and the King of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah, King of Judah, three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold" (2 Kings xviii. 13, 14).²

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 152.

² * For a pictorial delineation of this siege of Lachish, drawn from Assyrian monuments, see Smith's *Bibl. Dictionary*, vol. ii p. 1579 f., Amer. ed. — H.

Sennacherib's first expedition against Hezekiah described fully in the annals of Sennacherib.

The annals of Sennacherib, son and successor of Sargon, contain a full account of this campaign. "Because Hezekiah, King of Judah," says Sennacherib, "would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms and by the might of my power *I took forty-six of his strong fenced cities*, and of the smaller towns which were scattered about I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates to prevent escape. . . . Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem *with thirty talents of gold* and eight hundred talents of silver, and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty. . . . All these things were brought to me at Nineveh, the seat of my government, Hezekiah having sent them *by way of tribute*, and as a token of submission to my power." ¹ The close agreement of these two accounts is

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. pp. 160, 161.

admitted on all hands, and is indeed so palpable that it is needless to enlarge upon it here. The Assyrian monarch, with pardonable pride, brings out fully all the details at which the Hebrew annalist, in his patriotic reticence, only hints, — as the ravage far and wide of the whole territory, the vast numbers of the captives and the spoil, the actual siege and blockade of the capital, the alarm of the Jewish monarch, and his eagerness to propitiate his offended lord, — but his main facts are exactly those which the Jewish historian puts on record, the only apparent discrepancy being in the number of the talents of silver, where he probably counts the whole of the treasure carried off, while the Hebrew writer intends to give the amount of the permanent tribute which was agreed upon. It may be added, that the details, which the author of Kings suppresses, are abundantly noticed in the writings of the contemporary prophet, Isaiah, who describes the ravage of the territory (Isa. xxiv.), the siege of Jerusalem (xxix. 1-8), and the distress and terror of the inhabitants (xxii. 1-14), even more graphically and more fully than the historiographer of Sennacherib.¹

¹ Compare also 2 Chr. xxxii. 1-8, which gives very fully the preparations for the defense of Jerusalem made by Hezekiah.

On the second expedition of Sennacherib into Syria, which terminated with the terrible disaster related in 2 Kings xix. 35,¹ the annals of Assyria are silent. Such silence is in no way surprising. It has always been the practice in the East to commemorate only the glories of the monarch, and to ignore his defeats and reverses.² The Jewish records furnish a solitary exception to this practice. In the entire range of the Assyrian annals there is no case where a monarch admits a disaster, or even a check, to have happened to himself or his generals; and the only way in which we become distinctly aware from the annals themselves that Assyrian history was not an unbroken series of victories and conquests, is from an occasional reference to a defeat or loss as sustained by a former monarch. Otherwise we have to gather the ill-success of the Assyrian arms from silence, from apparent de-

Silence of Assyrian records with respect to his second expedition.

1 * "The angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when they [the few left, among whom was the king], arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses."

It may have been a pestilential blast under the image of a destroying angel, that occasioned this mortality, or it may have been the result of an angel's more direct unseen agency (Ps. xxxvii. 49; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16). See Dean Stanley's note, *Hist. of the Jewish Church*, vol. ii. p. 530, and Prof. Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 141. — H.

2 * See Note on p. 119 of the "Illustrations." — H.

pression, from the discontinuance of expeditions toward this or that quarter. In the present case there is such a discontinuance. Sennacherib during his later years made no expedition further westward than Cilicia ; nor were the Assyrian designs against Southern Syria and Egypt resumed till toward the close of the reign of Esarhaddon.

But besides this tacit confirmation of the Scriptural narrative, profane history furnishes us with an important explicit testimony. The Egyptian priests declared to Herodotus, out of their records, that, about a century and a half before the conquest of their country by Cambyses, an invasion of it had been attempted by Sennacherib, King of the Assyrians and Arabians, who marched a vast host to the border of the Egyptian territory, where he was met by the Egyptians under their king, Sethos. The two hosts faced each other near Pelusium, on the most eastern branch of the Nile. Here, as they lay encamped, army over against army, there came, they said, in the night a multitude of field-mice, which devoured all the quivers and bowstrings of the Assyrians, and ate the thongs by which they managed their shields. Next morning, as soon as they discovered what had happened, they commenced

Great destruction of Sennacherib's army confirmed by Herodotus.

their flight, and great multitudes of them fell, as they had no arms wherewith to defend themselves. In commemoration of the event, Sethos, they added, the Egyptian king, erected a monument of himself, which they showed to the Greek traveller. It was a stone statue of a man with a mouse in his hand, and bore an inscription, "Look on me, and learn to reverence the gods."¹ We have here evidently an allegorized version of that terrible calamity which overtook the host of Sennacherib *in the night*, and which was followed in the morning by the hasty flight of the survivors. The particular form of the allegory was determined by the character of the work of art, which had been erected to celebrate the occasion, where the mouse in the hand was probably a mere symbol of ruin and destruction.²

The murder of Sennacherib by two of his sons, though not distinctly related in the Assyrian records, is illustrated by the condition wherein Assyria is found at the commencement of the reign of Esarhaddon. This monarch's inscriptions show that soon after his accession he was engaged for some months in a war with his half-brothers,³

Murder of Sennacherib illustrated.

¹ Herod. ii. 141.

² Compare 1 Sam. vi. 4, 5.

³ See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 186.

who would naturally, after murdering their father, endeavor to seat themselves upon his throne. The Greek historian, Abydenus, alludes to the same struggle;¹ and the Armenian records declared that the two assassins, having made their escape from the scene of conflict, obtained a refuge in Armenia, where the reigning monarch gave them lands, which long continued in the possession of their posterity.²

The history of Hezekiah, as related in the Second Book of Kings, introduces to our notice, besides Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, two other monarchs, of whom we have mention in profane records. These are "Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia" (2 Kings xix. 9), and "Merodach-Baladan, King of Babylon" (Ib. xx. 12, 13; comp. 2 Chr. xxxii. 31). Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia, is undoubtedly the *Tehrak* of the Egyptian monuments,³ who reigned over Egypt from B. C. 690 to B. C. 667, and who may have been monarch of Ethiopia for about ten years before he took the title of King of Egypt. He is the third king of Manetho's twenty-fifth or Ethiopian

Hezekiah's contemporaries, Tirhakah and Merodach-Baladan known to us from monuments of the period.

¹ Ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 9.

² Mos. Choren. *Hist. Arm.* i. 22.

³ See *Biblical Dictionary*, ad voc. TIRHAKAH.

dynasty; and his relations toward Egypt would make it natural for him to bestir himself, when that country was threatened by the advance of Sennacherib's army, and to assume the character of its protector. Merodach-Baladan appears in the Assyrian inscriptions,¹ and also in the famous document known as "the Canon of Ptolemy." He had two reigns at Babylon, separated from each other by an interval. Being an enemy of Assyria, and at war successively with both Sargon and Sennacherib, he would be attracted toward Hezekiah, who had thrown off the Assyrian yoke, and would be glad to conclude with him an alliance. Hence, probably, his embassy, which, if it was in B. C. 713, as the Hebrew numbers make it, belonged to his first reign, when he was contemporary with Sargon, and occupied the Babylonian throne from B. C. 721 to 709. His second reign fell in B. C. 703.

Of Manasseh's capture and imprisonment at Babylon by a king of Assyria, who, as contemporary with Hezekiah's son and successor, should be Esarhaddon, the son and successor of Hezekiah's antagonist, Sennacherib, it cannot be said that we have any direct profane notice. We find, however, by the Assyrian records,

Manasseh's
visit to Bab-
ylon accords
with Esarhad-
don's resi-
dence there

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. pp. 40, 41.

that Manasseh was reckoned by Esarhaddon among his tributaries ;¹ and we have a curious illustration of what is at first sight most surprising in the sacred narrative, namely, the statement that “ the captains of the host of the King of Assyria,” when they took Manasseh prisoner, carried him with them, not to Nineveh, but to *Babylon* (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11). It appears by the inscriptions, that Esarhaddon not only, like his grandfather, Sargon, took the title of King of Babylon, but that he actually built himself a palace there,² in which he must undoubtedly have occasionally resided. Thus there is nothing strange in an important prisoner being brought to him at the southern capital, though such a thing could scarcely have happened to any other Assyrian sovereign.³

The cessation of all mention of Assyria in the Jewish records after the reign of Manasseh, and the new attitude taken by Josiah (about B. C. 634–625), who claimed and exercised a sovereignty not only over Judæa, but over Samaria and Galilee (2 Chr. xxxiv. 6), accords well with what we learn from profane

Josiah's greatness in harmony with the parallel decline and fall of Assyria.

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 200, note 8.

² *Ibid.* p. 196.

³ * This is the only narrow margin in the history where the incident could be inserted with any appearance of truth. On this coincidence, see more fully *Bibl. Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 1774, Amer. ed.—H.

history as to Assyria's decline and final ruin. From about the year B. C. 633 we begin to find Assyria showing symptoms of weakness. In that year, according to Herodotus, Nineveh was attacked by the Medes.¹ Soon afterwards an immense horde of savage invaders from the North seems to have swept across the whole of Western Asia, carrying ruin and desolation over vast regions, and probably afflicting Assyria as much as any other power.² About the same time Egypt shook off the Assyrian yoke, and Psamatik I. began aggressions upon Southern Syria. A king who in his old age had become feeble, held the Assyrian sceptre, and the Medes were allowed to increase in strength without an effort being made to keep them in check. At last, about B. C. 626, Nineveh was again besieged by this enemy, who being joined by the Babylonians and Sussianians, in a short time gained a complete success. Assyria fell B. C. 625 or 624; Nineveh was razed to the ground; and the Medes and Babylonians divided the empire between them. It was easy for Josiah during this troublous time to free his country from subjection to a hated yoke, and to effect an en-

¹ Herod. i. 102. According to this writer, the last year of Phraortes preceded by seventy-five years the first of Cyrus, B. C. 558.

² *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 221-228.

largement of his dominions at the expense of his less powerful neighbors, who could obtain no help from their nominal suzerain.

The war of Josiah with Necho, King of Egypt, and the precedings of that monarch in Syria and Palestine, between the years B. C. 610 and B. C. 604, receive important illustration from the histories of Herodotus and Berosus. Herodotus relates that Necho "made war by land upon the Syrians, and defeated them in a pitched battle at Magdolos;"¹ while Berosus declares that toward the close of the reign of Nabopolassar, or shortly before B. C. 605, troubles broke out in the West; Egypt, Syria, and Phœnicia rose in revolt; and Nabopolassar was forced to send his son Nebuchadnezzar into those parts to put down the insurrection and recover the countries.² The Jewish narrative connects and harmonizes these two accounts. It shows us Necho as the first disturber of the tranquillity that prevailed, and indicates to us a design on his part to add to his dominions all Syria as far as Carchemish on the Euphrates (2 Chr. xxxv. 20); it tells us of the opposition offered to this design by Josiah, and his defeat in a pitched battle at Megiddo (Ib. 22-24), the Magdolos of

Necho's Syrian conquests and their loss confirmed by Herodotus and Berosus.

¹ Herod. ii. 159.

² Ap. Joseph. c. Ap. i. 19.

the Greek writer—it intimates that **after** this Necho carried out his plans successfully, and for a time ruled over all Syria (2 Kings xxiv. 7); it then records the advance of Nebuchadnezzar, his defeat of Necho (Jer. xlvi. 2), and his recovery of the entire region lying between the Euphrates and the “river of Egypt.” Necho after this, it tells us, “came not again any more out of his land;” the yoke of Babylon being henceforth, as Berosus also stated, firmly fixed on the western countries.

Of the closing scenes in the history of the kingdom of Judah, the repeated revolts of the Jewish monarchs, their renewed negotiations with Egypt, their deposition by their offended lord, their captivities, and the final punishment of the rebellious race by the destruction of its city and temple, and the deportation of the great mass of the people to Babylon, we could only expect to have detailed confirmation if we possessed the annals of Nebuchadnezzar. Unfortunately, no such document has hitherto been recovered. We know, however, that the history of Berosus, which was based upon native records, stated that “Nebuchadnezzar, having conquered the Jews, burnt the Temple at Jerusalem, and remov-

Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Jerusalem confirmed by Berosus.

ing the entire people from their homes, transported them to Babylon ;”¹ and we have no reason to doubt that, as the main facts are thus confirmed, so would be the details, if the full history of the time had come down to us. Where history affords the means of testing the details, they are correct. The name of the Egyptian monarch on whom Zedekiah relied is given, in Jer. xlv. 30, as “Hophra,”² correctly; for in B. C. 588–586 Apries, or *Haifra-het*, ruled over Egypt.³ And the length of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign and the name of his successor are delivered with the same accuracy by the writer of Kings (2 Kings xxv. 27), whose “Evil-merodach” is clearly the Eveilmarauchus of the native historian,⁴ and whose calculation of the length of Jehoiachin’s captivity (Ib.) compared with his statement that that monarch was made prisoner in Nebuchadnezzar’s eighth year (Ib. xxiv. 12), produces for the length of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign the exact period of forty-three years, which is assigned him both by Berosus⁵ and by the Canon of Ptolemy.

¹ Ap. Joseph. c. Ap. i. 19.

² * In the English version it is “Pharaoh-Hophra,” i. e. King Hophra; for Pharaoh was not a personal name among the Egyptians, but one of the royal dynastic titles, like Ptolemy, Seleucid, Cæsar. See also 2. K. xxiii. 29, 33, etc. Compare note on p. 37. — H.

³ Wilkinson in Rawlinson’s *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 210, 323.

⁴ Ap. Joseph. c. Ap. i. 21.

⁵ Ibid. l. s. c.

Such are the most remarkable of the direct historical illustrations which profane sources furnish for the period of Jewish history between Rehoboam and Zedekiah. They include notices of almost every foreign monarch mentioned in the course of the narrative — of Shishak, Zerah, Benhadad, Hazael, Mesha, Rezin, Pul, Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, So, Sargon, Sennacherib, Tirhakah, Merodach-Baladan, Esarhaddon, Necho, Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-merodach, and Apries, — and of the Jewish or Israelite kings, Omri, Ahab, Jehu, Ahaziah, Menahem, Pekah, Ahaz, Hoshea, Hezekiah, and Manasseh. All these monarchs occur in profane history in the order, and at or near the time which the sacred narrative assigns to them. The synchronisms, which that narrative supplies, are borne out wherever there is any further evidence on the subject. The general condition of the powers which come into contact with the Jews is rightly described ; and the fluctuations which they experience, their alternations of glory and depression, are correctly given. No discrepancy occurs between the sacred and the profane throughout the entire period, excepting here and there a chronological one. And these chronological discrepancies are in no case seri-

Wide extent
of the illustrations,
and in-
significance of
the apparent
discrepancies.

ous. Sennacherib's first expedition against Hezekiah should, according to the Assyrian records, have fallen about thirteen years later than the Hebrew numbers place it; and Menahem's reign in Samaria should have come down about ten years further. The time of Hazael, Jehu, and Ahab, appears by the Assyrian records to have been about forty years later than it is placed by the books of Kings, according to the numbers assigned to the reigns of the Jewish monarchs, or twenty years later than the same authority places it, according to the numbers assigned to the reigns of the kings of Israel. But the Assyrian chronology of this earlier period, it is to be remembered, has come down to us, not on contemporary monuments, but on documents drawn up at a comparatively late date, by the princes of the dynasty of Sargon. Some slight difficulties also occur in adjusting the Egyptian chronology to that of the Hebrews. Tirhakah comes upon the scene seven or eight years earlier, and So (or Shebek) about ten years earlier than we should have expected from our Egyptian authorities. But these authorities do not appear to deserve implicit credence, and may well be in error to the extent required by the sacred narrative. So much corruption has taken place in the numbers of all ancient works, that exact chro-

nology with respect to events in the remote past is unattainable. The judicious student of Ancient History must be content for the most part with approximate dates, and will rely far more upon well-attested synchronisms than upon schemes which have a mere numerical basis.

The later narrative of the books of Chronicles and Kings may further receive a certain amount of illustration of an indirect character, from a consideration of the incidental notices which are dropped with respect to the manners and customs of the foreign nations, with which the Jews are in this part of their history represented as coming into contact. Though the sacred narrative is far from giving us in this place such a complete portraiture of the Assyrians or Babylonians as it furnishes in the Pentateuch of the Egyptians, yet, if we add to the picture drawn in Chronicles and Kings the further touches furnished by the contemporary prophets, especially Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, we shall find that we possess, altogether, a description of these peoples, which is capable of comparison with the account of them that has reached us from profane sources. And this comparison, though it cannot be carried to the extent which

Further illustration from the accord of Scripture with profane history in respect of manners and customs.

was found possible in the case of Egypt,¹ will be found to embrace so many and such minute points as to constitute it an important head of evidence, and one perhaps to many minds more convincing than the direct illustrations adduced hitherto.

The Assyrians are represented as a warlike people, the conquerors of many kings and nations (2 Kings xix. 11-13), possessing numerous chariots (Ib. 23) and horsemen (2 Kings xviii. 23; Is. xxii. 7); terrible as archers (2 Kings xix. 32; Is. v. 28); accustomed to besiege cities by means of banks and forts (Ib. and Is. xxix. 3) as well as to "come before them with shields" (2 Kings xix. 32); merciless when victorious; accustomed to break down and destroy the towns of the enemy (Is. xxxvii. 26), and to carry their inhabitants away captive (2 Kings xv. 29; xvii. 6, etc.), young and old, often "naked and barefoot" (Is. xx. 4), replacing them by colonists from a distance (2 Kings xvii. 24; Ezr. iv. 2). The Assyrian government is represented as an empire over numerous tributary kings (Is. x. 8; 2 Kings xvi. 7; xix. 13, etc.). The monarch stands out prominently at its head. He is "the *great* King, even the King of Assyria" (2 Kings xviii.

Portrait drawn
of the Assyrians
in Scrip-
ture.

¹ See above, pp. 41-55, and 73-81.

28), lord and master of all, even the most exalted of his subjects (Ib. 27), far removed above any rival. Next to him in apparent rank is the Tartan, who commands his armies in his absence (Is. xx. 1; comp. 2 Kings xviii. 17), after whom come the Rabsaris, and the Rabshakeh, who, by their names, should be "the chief eunuch," and "the chief cup-bearer," grand officers who represent their master in embassies (2 Kings i. s. c.). The King of Assyria usually makes war in person, marching out from Nineveh at the head of armies, which appear not to exceed about 200,000 men (2 Kings xix. 35). He fights, not merely for the sake of empire, with its concomitants of homage and tribute (2 Kings xvii. 4; xviii. 14), but also in order to possess himself of the valuable commodities peculiar to the conquered countries. For example, he covets Syria, especially in order that he "may go up to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon, and cut down the tall cedars thereof, and the choice fir-trees thereof" (2 Kings xix. 23; comp. Is. xiv. 8). He imprisons the monarchs who offend him (2 Kings xvii. 4), and makes them languish long in a wearisome confinement (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11, 12; Is. xiv. 17), but occasionally has pity upon them and restores them to their long-

lost thrones (2 Chr. xxxiii. 13). There is one peculiarly barbarous custom, which he sanctions, with respect to these unfortunates. When they have rebelled and been captured, they are brought before him with a hook or ring passed through their lip or their jaw, and a thong or cord attached to it, by which their captor leads them.¹

Again, the magnificence and luxury of the Assyrians is noted. They are "clothed with blue" (Ezek. xxiii. 6), "most gorgeously" (Ib. 12); they deal "in brodered work and in chests of rich apparel" (Ib. xxvii. 24); their merchants are "multiplied above the stars of heaven" (Nah. iii. 16); Nineveh is full of "the spoil of silver and the spoil of gold; there is none end of the store and glory out of all of the pleasant furniture" (Ib. ii. 9). The people combine a degree of civilization and luxury scarcely reached elsewhere, with a sternness, a fierceness, and a military spirit seldom found among Orientals, after habits of primitive savagery have been cast aside.

¹ This is the real meaning of the passage incorrectly rendered in the Authorized Version (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11), "which [the Assyrians] took Manasseh *among the thorns*" [where "took Manasseh with the hooks" (see also Am. iv. 2), is the correct rendering]. The practice is also glanced at in 2 Kings xix. 28, as one that the Jews in their day of success might employ against the Assyrians. A bas-relief discovered at Khorsabad illustrates this practice. See *Bibl. Dict.* vol. ii. p. 1086, Amer. ed.

The picture thus presented to us is in striking accord with the character of the Assyrians, of their monarchy, of their mode of warfare, of their favorite habits and practices, as they may be gathered from the sculptured monuments and inscriptions. These exhibit to us the Assyrian people as, from first to last, a warrior nation, delighting in battle even while well acquainted with all the softer arts of peace, and engaged in a constant series of aggressions upon their neighbors. They show us the army divided into distinct corps, of which the most important are the chariots, and the horsemen.¹ Swords and spears are used by the warriors; but the weapon on which most dependence is placed, is the bow.² The siege of cities is a favorite subject of representation with the artists, who exhibit the "mounds," or "banks," piled against the walls, and further portray the movable "forts" or "towers," which elevate the besiegers to a level with the battlements of the fortified place, and enable them to engage its defenders on an equal footing.³ At the same

Agreement of the portrait with the Assyrian sculptures and inscriptions.

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 422.

² *Ibid.* pp. 421, 424, etc.

³ Layard, *Monuments of Ninereh*, First Series, pl. 19.

* See the plate, which represents such a scene, in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. ii. p. 1579, Amer. ed. It depicts the siege of

time we see bodies of archers, with their shields planted firmly before them, who thus protected drive the enemy from the walls with flights of arrows.¹ Towns when taken are ruthlessly demolished, the ramparts and towers being broken down, or the entire place destroyed by fire.² The inhabitants are carried off in vast numbers, without distinction of age or sex; men, women, and children being alike barefoot, and the children not unfrequently naked.³ Transplantation of the conquered races appears in the inscriptions as a system; and it is a feature of the system to remove to vast distances.⁴ Captive kings are imprisoned, commonly at Nineveh;⁵ occasionally, after a term of imprisonment, they are pardoned and restored to their thrones.⁶ The barbarous custom of passing a hook or ring

Lachish by Sennacherib (2 Chr. xxxii. 9; 2 K. xviii. 17), as sculptured on slabs found in one of the chambers of the palace of Koyunjik. For a remarkable inscription relating to Hezekiah and the Jews on one of the Babylonian cylinders, see *Bibl. Dict.* vol. ii. p. 1061, Amer. ed.; and Prof. Rawlinson, *Bampton Lectures* for 1859, p. 316 ff., Amer. ed. Dean Milman calls attention to this coincidence as very remarkable (*History of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 427, Amer. ed.).—H.

¹ Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, Second Series, pls. 18, 20, and 21.

² *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 474.

³ See Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, Second Series, pls. 18, 19, 22, 23, etc.

⁴ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 152.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 159, 173, 202, etc.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 202.

through the lip of an important prisoner, and leading him about by a thong attached to it, is exhibited in the sculptures, where captives thus treated are brought into the king's presence by their captors.¹

Again, the Assyrian government is proved to have been such as represented in Scripture. The empire is a congeries of kingdoms, its different portions being for the most part ruled by the native princes of the several countries, who render to their suzerain tribute and service, but are allowed to govern their respective territories without any control or interference.² The monarch is supreme, irresistible, set on an unapproachable height above his subjects, — a sort of god upon earth. Next to him in rank stands the "Tartan," or commander-in-chief, who leads out his armies when he is sick or otherwise indisposed, and whose acts are frequently confounded with those of his master.³ Not much below the Tartan is the "Chief Eunuch," who has a right of near approach to his master's person, introduces strangers to him, and attends to his comforts.⁴ The "Chief Cupbearer" does

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. pp. 243, 244, and 292.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 235, 236.

³ The Tartan occurs next to the monarchs in the lists of Eponyms. For the confusion between his acts and those of the king, see *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 101, note 3.

⁴ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. pp. 498, 502.

not make his appearance on the sculptures, which nowhere represent the king at a banquet; but the general character of the Assyrian court would lead us to expect such an officer. It is the ordinary practice of the king to engage in war year after year; and the expeditions which he undertakes he usually conducts in person. The monarchs whom he chastises or subdues, he requires to fall down before his footstool and do him service; while at the same time he lays upon them some permanent burden in the shape of a fixed tribute. He is, further, in the habit of cutting timber in the forests belonging to the conquered nations, and transporting it to Assyria, to be used in the construction of his palaces.¹ The armies which he leads out seem rarely much to exceed 200,000 men.²

The magnificence of the Assyrians is very apparent in the sculptures and the other remains. The remains comprise terra-cotta and alabaster vases of elegant forms, gold earrings, glass bottles, carved ornaments in ivory and mother-of-pearl, engraved gems, bells, beautiful bronze dishes elaborately ornamented with embossed work, statuettes,

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i pp. 474, 475; and vol ii. p 237, note 10.

² *Ibid.* vol ii. p. 236, note 7

enameled bricks, necklaces, combs, mirrors, etc.;¹ while the sculptures represent to us embroidered garments of the richest kind,² splendid head-dresses, armlets and bracelets, metal goblets in excellent taste, elegant furniture, elaborate horse-trappings, dagger handles exquisitely chased, parasols, fans, musical instruments of ten or twelve different sorts, hanging gardens, paradises, pleasure-boats, and numerous other indications of advanced civilization, refinement, and luxury.³ It is concluded with justice from them, that, towards the close of their empire, the Assyrians were in all the arts and appliances of life very nearly on a par with ourselves.

A similar comparison might be made between what we learn from Kings and Chronicles of the kingdom and people of Babylon, and that picture of them which may be gathered from profane sources. But as Babylon was the scene of the Captivity, which will form the main subject of the next chapter,

¹ See Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, chaps. viii. and xxv. especially.

² * It was such a "Babylonish garment" (lit. "garment of Shinar" or Babylonia), that Achan took among the spoils of the Canaanites, and attempted to conceal (Josh. vii. 21). The Babylonian tablet and the Hebrew scroll (so wide apart from each other in time, place, and mode of testimony) agree together here in a remarkable manner. — H.

³ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 365-400, and 484-590.

and as the most complete account which Scripture gives of it is contained in the pages of Daniel, the consideration of whose "book" we are now about to enter upon, the exhibition of such agreement as exists in this matter will be reserved for a later portion of this volume.

CHAPTER VI.

DANIEL.

THE book of Daniel is almost as much historical as prophetical. In the Hebrew Canon its place is between Esther and Ezra, two books, both of which are histories. One entire half of it (chaps. i.-vi.) is a narrative of events, and is as capable of receiving historical illustration as any other portion of the Sacred Volume. Daniel, moreover, supplies a gap in the Biblical history, which is not otherwise filled up by any sacred writer. He is the historian of the Captivity, the writer who alone furnishes any series of events for that dark and dismal period, during which the harp of Israel hung silently on the trees that grew by the Euphrates. His narrative may be said, in a general way, to intervene between Kings and Chronicles, on the one hand, and Ezra on the other, or (more strictly) to fill out the sketch which the author of Chronicles gives in a single verse of his last chapter, "And them that had escaped from the sword carried he "

(*i. e.* Nebuchadnezzar) “away to Babylon, where they were servants to him and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia” (2 Chr. xxxvi. 20). We learn from Daniel particulars of this servitude.

The main events related in Daniel are the long and glorious reign of Nebuchadnezzar, the great king of Babylon, who both commenced and completed the Chief events related in it. captivity of the Jews ; his elevation of Daniel to a position of high authority in his kingdom ; his treatment of the “Three Children,” Ananias, Azarias, and Misael ; his dreams, his terrible illness, and recovery ; the impiety and punishment of Belshazzar ; the capture of Babylon ; the accession of “Darius the Mede,” and his treatment of Daniel ; and the accession, a year or two later, of “Cyrus the Persian.” These events, it will be observed, are partly of a public, partly of a private character. The names and reigns of kings, their acts and fate, the order of their succession and general character of their government, the transfer of empire from one race or nation to another, and the like, are of the former kind ; the particular treatment of individuals among their subjects is of the latter. It is, of course, only of the former class of facts that we can expect illustrations from pro-

fane history ; and to them, accordingly, the inquiry will be confined in the following pages.

Daniel opens with some chronological statements which, at first sight, seems self-contradictory.

Chronological difficulties of the early chapters cleared by a passage of Berosus.

He relates that, in a certain year of the reign of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, went up to Jerusalem, and besieged it (i. 1) ; that, the siege being successful, he carried off from the city certain captives, among whom was Daniel, and delivered him into the care of his chief eunuch, with an injunction that he should educate him *for three years*, and then bring him into his presence (i. 3-6) ; that this was done, and the captives were admitted among the “ wise men ” (i. 18-20) ; and that after this, in the *second year* of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, they were brought into danger by a decree which commanded that the wise men should be put to death (ii. 1-13). We are enabled to reconcile these statements by finding in Berosus¹ that the first expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Syria, and the commencement of the Jewish captivity, took place towards the close of the reign of Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar’s father, in B. C. 605, or possibly in B. C. 606 ; between which time and

¹ Ap. Joseph. c. Ap. i. 19.

Nebuchadnezzar's second year, B. C. 603, there would be room for the three years' instruction spoken of; more especially as "three years," according to the Hebrew usage, means no more than one whole year and parts, however small, of two other years. Thus, if Daniel were taken to Babylon in the autumn of B. C. 605, and placed at once under the chief eunuch, he might have been presented to Nebuchadnezzar as educated early in B. C. 603, and before the close of that year have run the risk of destruction, and escaped from it. Nebuchadnezzar's second year would not be out till the Thoth of B. C. 602, according to Babylonian modes of reckoning. The only difficulty that remains, if it be a difficulty, is that Nebuchadnezzar is called "King of Babylon" in Dan. i. 1, when he was merely crown prince and commander-in-chief on behalf of his father. But this is a *prolepsis* common to most writers of history.¹

The fact of the Jewish Captivity commencing as early as B. C. 605, which is involved in

¹ See Dr. Pusey's *Lectures on Daniel*, p. 400 (3d ed.). Dr. Pusey well remarks: "We should naturally say, 'Queen Victoria was carefully educated by her mother,' or 'the Emperor Napoleon passed some years of his life in England;' although the education of our Queen was concluded before her accession to the throne, and the Emperor's residence here was before his accession, and while he was in exile."

what has here been said, and is important in connection with the number of years that the Captivity is declared to have lasted, receives confirmation from the same passage of Berosus, who distinctly states that Nebuchadnezzar not only at this time "reduced Syria," but also "carried Jewish captives into Babylonia, and planted colonies of them in various suitable places."¹ Berosus also relates that he "adorned magnificently the temple of Bel from the spoils taken in this war," — a remark which accords well with Daniel's statement, that "the Lord gave into his hand . . . part of the vessels of the house of God, which he carried into the land of Shinar to the house of his god; and *he brought the vessels into the treasure-house of his god*" (verse 2).

The extent, glory, and splendor of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom are strongly stated by Daniel in his second, third, and fourth chapters. Nebuchadnezzar is "a king of kings" (ii. 37); God has given him "a kingdom, power, strength, and glory" (Ib.); he has under him "princes, governors, and captains, judges, treasurers, counselors, sheriffs, and rulers of provinces" (iii.

General character of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom, in close agreement with profane history and with the Babylonian remains.

¹ Berosus, l. s. c.

2) ; he has “grown, and become strong” (iv. 22) ; his “greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and his dominion to the end of the earth” (Ib.). Walking in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon, he exclaims, “Is not this great Babylon, *which I have built* for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty?” (iv. 30). In all this we may seem at first sight to have the language of Oriental hyperbole. But profane writers, and the remains in the country itself, agree in testifying to the almost literal truth and correctness of the entire portrait. “Nebuchadnezzar,” says Abydenus,¹ “having ascended the throne, fortified Babylon with a triple enceinte, which he completed in fifteen days. He made likewise the Armacales (*Nahr malcha*, or ‘Royal river’), a branch stream from the Euphrates ; and he excavated above the city of Sippara (Sepharvaim) a great reservoir, forty *farsakhs* in circumference and twenty fathoms deep, and arranged flood-gates so that by opening them it was possible to irrigate the entire plain. Moreover, he built quays along the shore of the Red Sea, to check the force of the waves, and founded there the city of Teredon, to

¹ Ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41. Compare Euseb. *Chron. Can* i. 10.

repress the inroads of the Arabs. And he adorned his palace with trees and shrubs, constructing what are called 'the Hanging Gardens,' which the Greeks reckon among the Seven Wonders of the World. . . . He was more valiant than Hercules ; he led expeditions into Africa and Iberia, and, having reduced the inhabitants, transported some of them to the eastern shores of the Euxine." "He adorned," says Berosus,¹ "the temple of Belus, and the other temples, with the spoils which he had taken in war ; and having strongly fortified the city, and beautified the gates exceedingly, he added to his ancestral palace a second palace in the immediate neighborhood, very lofty and costly — 'twere tedious, perchance, to describe it at length, wherefore I say no more than this, that, vast as was its size and magnificent as was its character, the whole was begun and finished in fifteen days. And he upreared in this palace a stone erection of great height, to which he gave an appearance as nearly as possible like that of mountains, and planted it with trees of various kinds, thus forming the far-famed Hanging Garden." Modern research has shown that Nebuchadnezzar was the greatest monarch that Babylon, or perhaps the East

¹ Ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 20.

generally, ever produced. He must have possessed an enormous command of human labor. Nine-tenths of Babylon itself, and nineteen-twentieths of all the other ruins that in almost countless profusion cover the land, are composed of bricks stamped with his name. He appears to have built or restored almost every city and temple in the whole country.¹ His inscriptions give an elaborate account of the immense works which he constructed in and about Babylon itself, abundantly illustrating the boast, "Is not this Great Babylon, which I have built?" His wealth and the magnificence of his court, seem to have been on a par with the number and size of his buildings. A lavish use of the precious metals characterized his architecture.² His palace, called "The Wonder of Mankind," was "with many chambers and lofty towers;" its pillars and beams were "plated with copper;" "silver and gold, and precious stones whose names were almost unknown," were stored up inside in a treasure-house, as well as many other valuable objects which cannot be distinctly identified.³

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. pp. 56, 57.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 546-548.

³ *Standard Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar* (given in *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. pp. 77-79).

* For a description of the "hanging gardens" of this mon-

There are two or three points in the history of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, as delivered to us by Daniel, to which rationalistic writers have objected as "incorrect statements," and which they have regarded as marks of the work having been composed long after the events whereof it treats.¹ One of these is the mention by Daniel of "satraps" among the great officers of Nebuchadnezzar (iii. 2, 3, 27), which is regarded as erroneous, since satraps were a Persian institution, and the regular satrapial system dated from Darius Hystaspis. Now here it may be granted that the term which Daniel uses, a Hebrew word corresponding as nearly as possible to the Persian *khshatrapa*, "satrap," is not likely to have been employed by the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar. But it can scarcely be supposed to be improbable that the Babylonians employed provincial governors,² at any rate to some extent; and this is what the

Supposed
"historical in-
accuracies"
examined.
1. "Satraps"
of Nebuchad-
nezzar.

arch, see Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. iii. p. 2087, Amer. ed. The object of it was to give him an arbor high enough in the air to protect him against the mosquitos. — H.

¹ Von Lengerke, *Das Buch Daniel*, Einleitung, § 13, p. lxiii.; De Wette, *Einleitung in das alt. Test.* § 255, a [and later ed. (1869), De Wette-Schrader, § 314, p. 494].

² Gedaliah is such a governor in Judæa (2 Kings xxv. 22); and Berosus speaks of a "governor of Syria" under Nabopolassar. He even calls this governor a "satrap" (ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 19).

word "satrap" means, and what it was calculated to suggest to a Jewish reader or hearer. Daniel, writing under Cyrus, when the word had become familiar to the Jews,¹ uses it in lieu of some Babylonian term of corresponding signification, placing it at the head of a somewhat barbarous list, to indicate clearly and at once to his readers the general character of the many obscure terms by which it is followed.

The representation made in Daniel of the *four* classes of "wise men" at Babylon (ii. 2 ; v. 11), has been taxed with error on the wholly irrelevant ground that ^{2. Classes of "Wise men."} Porphyry, and after him Eusebius, divide the Magi into *three* classes only. As there is every reason to believe that the "wise men" of Babylon were wholly and entirely distinct from the Magi of the Medes and later Persians, the argument adduced is absolutely without value.

But, it has been urged,² at any rate it is inconceivable, that the "wise men," being a hereditary caste, and having a ^{3. Daniel's admission among them and appointment to be their head.} priestly character, should have consented to receive Daniel and his

¹ Cyrus is said by Xenophon to have appointed satraps over most parts of his empire (*Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 7). Herodotus makes him leave a satrap in Lydia (i. 153). According to Nicolas of Damascus, Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, was "satrap of Persia," under the Medes (Fr. 66).

² De Wette, l. s. c

companions among them. Still more inconceivable is it that they should have allowed him to be placed over them (Dan. ii. 48). And, further, it is scarcely compatible with Daniel's character for piety that he should have been willing to be enrolled among such a class, much less have consented to take them under his protection. Objections of this kind proceed mainly from a misconception of the true position and character of the Babylonian "wise men." It is clear from the profane accounts of them which have come down to us, that they were more a *learned* than a priestly caste, "corresponding rather to the graduates of a university than the clergy of an establishment."¹ The enrollment of a Jewish prince (Dan. i. 3) among them is no more strange than the matriculation of an Egyptian prince at Oxford; nor would Daniel more compromise his principles by a study of their learning than a Mohammedan or a Hindoo does his by attendance on the lectures of our professors. Daniel's elevation to the position of their chief may with more reason be adduced as a difficulty, but it must be remembered that in an Oriental despotism the monarch disposes, absolutely at his pleasure, of all dignities, and that no "consent" on the part of any of his subjects is deemed necessary.

¹ *Bampton Lectures* by Rawlinson, for 1859 (Eng. ed.), p. 163.

The strange malady which afflicted Nebuchadnezzar for the space of seven years (Dan. iv. 32),¹ has been thought to receive illustration from an inscription, in which occur a number of negative clauses, apparently indicating a suspension for a certain period of the monarch's great works.² But the inscription is too much mutilated for the sense of it to be clearly ascertained; and an explanation of its meaning has been given, which prevents it from having any bearing of the kind originally suspected. No stress, therefore, can be laid upon this document; but still profane history is not without some trace of the extraordinary occurrence. Historians of Babylon place at about the period whereto it belongs the reign of a queen to whom are ascribed works which others declare to be Nebuchadnezzar's.³ It seems not un-

Mysterious
malady of
Nebuchadnezzar
hinted at
by profane
writers.

¹ * "He was driven from man, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagle's feathers, and his nails like bird's claws" (Dan. iv. 33). The malady is one not unknown to physicians, and is called 'Lycanthropy.' The victim thinks himself a beast and not a man, walks on all fours, ceases to speak, and rejects all ordinary food. The queen, no doubt, exercised the royal power during this incapacitation of the monarch. We are to think of him during this time, not as roaming at large, but confined in the gardens of the palace. See Rawlinson's *Monarchies of the Ancient World*, p. 503 (Lond. 1865). — H.

² *Bampton Lectures*, by Rawlinson, for 1859, p. 166.

³ Herod. i. 185. Compare Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 10.

likely that during the malady of her husband, the favorite wife of Nebuchadnezzar may have been practically at the head of affairs, and in that case, works constructed at this time may have gone indifferently by her name or by his. Again, there was a remarkable statement in the work of the great Babylonian historian, that Nebuchadnezzar “fell into a state of infirm health” some time before his decease:¹ and this statement was enlarged upon by another ancient writer, who thus related the seizure, last words, and death of the monarch:²—

“After this, the Chaldeans say, that Nebuchadnezzar, having mounted to the roof of his palace, was seized with a divine afflatus, and broke into speech as follows: ‘I, Nebuchadnezzar, foretell to you, O Babylonians, the calamity which is about to fall upon you, which Bel, my forefather, and Queen Beltis are alike unable to persuade the fates to avert. A Persian mule will come, assisted by your gods, and will bring slavery upon you, with his accomplice, a Mede, the pride of the Assyrians. Would that, ere he lay this yoke upon my countrymen, some whirlpool or flood might engulf him, and make him wholly disappear! Or would that, pursuing another course, he were borne through the wilderness, where is neither city nor track of man,

¹ Beros. ap. Joseph. c. *Ap.* i. 20.

² Abyd. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41.

but wild beasts have their pasture in it, and birds haunt it, that there he might wander among the rocks and torrent-beds alone! And would that I, ere these thoughts entered my mind, had closed my life more happily!’ Thus having prophesied, he suddenly disappeared from sight.”

This passage is very remarkable as combining the fact of a seizure with the locality of the palace roof (perhaps implied in Dan. iv. 29), with a disappearance from the face of men, and with the exertion of a prophetic power (not claimed for any other Babylonian monarch), such as we find to have been actually accorded to Nebuchadnezzar, according to the narrative of Daniel (chaps. ii. and iv.). The terms of the prophecy are also very remarkable, as containing a covert allusion to the fate of Nebuchadnezzar himself, and as furnishing almost the only notice in the whole range of profane history which throws light upon the position assigned by Daniel to “Darius the Mede.”

From the narrative of events belonging to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, our author makes a sudden transition to the fatal night when the Babylonian kingdom came to an end, being absorbed into the Medo-Persian. As he is primarily a prophet, and only secondarily a historian, he

Difficulties
connected
with the name
and fate of
Belshazzar.

is in no way bound to make his narrative continuous ; and thus he does not relate the death of Nebuchadnezzar, nor the accession of his son, nor the troubles that followed thereupon, but, omitting a period of some five-and-twenty years, proceeds at once from Nebuchadnezzar's recovery of his senses to the closing scene of Babylonian history, the feast of Belshazzar, and the Persian capture of Babylon. Until a few years since, this portion of his narrative presented difficulties to the historical inquirer which seemed quite insoluble. Profane historians of unimpeachable character¹ related that the capture of Babylon by the Medo-Persians took place in the reign of a Babylonian king, called Nabonnedus (or Labynetus), not of one called Belshazzar ; they said that this Nabonnedus was not of the royal stock of Nebuchadnezzar,² to which, according to Daniel (v. 11), Belshazzar belonged ; they stated, moreover, that he was absent from Babylon at the time of its capture ;³ and that, instead of being slain in the sack of the town, as Belshazzar was (Dan. v. 30), he was made prisoner and kindly treated by the conqueror.⁴ Thus the

¹ Berosus, Abydenus, and Herodotus.

² Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41 ; Beros. ap. Joseph c. *Ap.* i. 21.

³ Beros. l. s. c.

⁴ Ibid. Compare Abyden. l. s. c.

profane and the sacred narrative seemed to be contradictory at all points; and Rationalists were never tired of urging that here at least the narrative of Scripture was plainly unhistoric and untrustworthy.

A very simple discovery, made a few years ago in Lower Babylon, has explained in the most satisfactory way all these apparent contradictions. Nabonnedus, the last native king of Babylon, according to Berosus, Herodotus, and Ptolemy, states that his eldest son bore the name of Bel-shar-ezer, and speaks of him in a way which shows that he had associated him in the government.¹ Hence we learn that there were two kings of Babylon at the time of the last siege, Nabonnedus (or Labynetus), the father, and Belsharezer (or Belshazzar), the son. The latter was intrusted with the command within the city, while the former occupied a stronghold in the neighborhood; the latter alone perished, the former escaped. It is the former only of whom trustworthy historians relate that he was not of the royal stock; the latter may have been, if his father took the ordinary precaution of marrying into the deposed house. The fact that the Bab-

These difficulties removed by a recent discovery.

¹ On the discovery of the cylinder containing this notice, see *Athenæum* of March 1854, p. 341.

ylonian throne was at this time occupied conjointly by two monarchs is indicated in the sacred narrative by a curious *casual* touch. Belshazzar, anxious to obtain the interpretation of the miraculous "handwriting upon the wall," proclaims that whoever reads it shall be made "the *third* ruler in the kingdom" (Dan. v. 7). In every other similar case,¹ the reward is the elevation of the individual, who does the service, to the *second* place in the kingdom, the place next to the king. The only reason that can be assigned for the variation in this instance is, that the first and second places were both filled, and that therefore the highest assignable reward was the *third* place.

With Daniel's graphic description of the condition of things inside Babylon on the night of the capture, we have no profane account that we can compare. The accounts of the capture which have reached us come from Persian sources, and describe mainly what went on outside the city. There are, however, some striking points of coincidence between the sacred and profane narratives. In both it is evident that the assault was wholly unexpected, — that the capture came on the inhabitants

Daniel's account of the capture of Babylon confirmed by profane history.

¹ Compare Gen. xli. 40-45; Esther x. 3; Dan. ii. 48, 49.

as a complete surprise. In both it is noted that at the time of the capture a grand festival was in progress.¹ In both finally, it appears that the time chosen for the assault was the night.² Profane writers assign a sufficient reason for this choice, since the stratagem by which the town was entered required darkness to secure its success.³

In the closing words of Daniel's fifth chapter, and in the narrative which follows in the sixth, a real difficulty meets us. "Darius the Mede" is a personage of whom profane history is still ig-

Difficulty connected with Daniel's "Darius the Mede."

¹ Dan. v. 1. Compare Herod. i. 191; Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5, § 15.

² Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5, §§ 15-33.

³ Both Herodotus and Xenophon make Cyrus enter the town by the bed of the Euphrates, after drawing off the water from it artificially. If the sinking of the water had been seen, the river gates would have been shut.

* Daniel's singular abruptness and brevity (Dan. v. 30) certainly indicate that he consciously suppresses much more than he says: "In that night (of carousal) was Belshazzar slain." We are not told who slew him, or why it was by night, or what made the victory so sudden and complete. This brevity indicates a latent history for us, with which Daniel and his contemporaries must have been well acquainted. The draining of the Euphrates and the sudden irruption of the Persians and the imbecility of the drunken revelers are assumed as well known at that time, but must be learnt by us from other sources. Prof. Rawlinson has given us a remarkably vivid picture of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, and the attendant circumstances in his *Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, vol. iii. pp. 516-518. I have inserted the passage in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. i p. 220, Amer. ed. — H.

norant; and the ascription to him by Daniel of royal rank (vi. 6, etc.), is curious and surprising. There cannot be a doubt that the real king of Babylon, from the moment of its capture, was Cyrus the Persian, who is made the immediate successor of Nabonnedus (Labynetus) by Herodotus, Berosus, and Ptolemy.¹ Darius the Mede can, therefore, have been no more than a viceroy or deputy-king, a ruler set up by Cyrus, when he had effected the conquest. And thus much is really indicated in the Hebrew text, where the expressions translated “Darius the Median *took the kingdom*” (v. 31), and “*which was made king* over the realm of the Chaldæans” (ix. 1), signify that the person mentioned was set upon his throne by another.² It was, however, certainly not the general habit of the Persians to appoint viceroys over provinces; their practice was to appoint “governors” or “satraps;” and though satraps were practically a sort of petty kings, yet they had not the title; and it is not likely that a mere ordinary satrap would have been spoken of as Darius the Mede is spoken of by Daniel.³ We have,

¹ Herod. i. 188-201; Beros. ap. Joseph. c. Ap. i. 21; Ptol. *Mag. Synt.*

² Prof. Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures* for 1859, Appendix, p. 445 [and p. 357, Amer. ed.]; Pusey's *Lectures on Daniel*, p. 397.

³ See particularly Dan. vi. 28.

then, to ask if profane history suggests any explanation of the anomaly, that the individual appointed by Cyrus to govern Babylonia, though the Babylonians knew that he was a mere satrap, and therefore did not enter his name on their royal lists, seemed to the Jews who lived under him an actual monarch.

Now here the passage of Abydenus, above quoted,¹ is of importance. Abydenus makes Nebuchadnezzar prophesy that Babylon should be taken by two per-
Possible solution of the difficulty.
 sons — a Persian and a Mede — in combination (compare Dan. v. 28). And he applies to the Mede a remarkable epithet, “the pride of the Assyrians.” A *Mede*, who was the pride of the *Assyrians*, must almost necessarily have been a prince who had ruled over those two nations. Such a prince had been made prisoner by Cyrus, some twenty years before his capture of Babylon;² and it is in accordance with what is elsewhere related of him that he should have advanced this monarch, if he was still alive, to the post of Babylonian satrap.³ In this case, the Oriental respect for regal rank would have been likely to show itself in the assignment of the royal

¹ *Supra*, pp. 178, 199.

² Herod. i. 129.

³ See what is related of his treatment of Nabonnedus by Berosus (ap. Joseph. c. *Ap.* i. 21).

title to one who had formerly been a great monarch. Thus the hypothesis that "Darius the Mede" is the Astyages of Herodotus and Ctesias, which has been maintained by many critics,¹ solves the chief difficulties of Daniel's narrative,² while it harmonizes with the expression in Abydenus.

To this it may be added, that profane history speaks distinctly of a King Darius, more ancient than the son of Hystaspes,³ a monarch who, according to some, was the first to introduce into Western Asia the silver coin known as the daric, which took its name from him. This Darius may have been "Darius Medus," since we have nowhere any account of any other Darius "more ancient than the son of Hystaspes."

In the short narrative which belongs in Daniel to the reign of this Median prince, while there are a certain number of points whereon profane history which is scanty with respect to the internal organization of a Persian province, sheds no light, there occur several which harmonize completely with what we know of Medo-Persian ideas.

Daniel's narrative of events under Darius the Mede accords with profane accounts of Medo-Persic practices and ideas.

¹ As Syncellus, Jackson, Marsham, and Winer.

² See *Bampton Lectures*, by Prof. Rawlinson, for 1859, Appendix, p. 445 [and p. 357, Amer. ed.].

³ Harpocraton, *ad voc.* Δαρεϊκός

and practices from profane sources. For instance, the predominant legal idea in the account given of Daniel's exposure to the lions is the irrevocability of a royal edict, — the settled law among the Medes and Persians, "that no decree nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed" (Dan. vi. 15). Now, in this two principles are involved: one, the existence of a settled law, or rule, by which the king himself, theoretically at any rate, is bound, and which he cannot alter; the other, the inclusion under this law, or rule, of the irrevocability of a royal decree or promise. Both of these principles are recognized as Medo-Persic by profane writers. We are told that Cambyses, one of the most despotic of the Persian monarchs, when he wished to contract an incestuous marriage, applied to the crown lawyers to know if they could *find a law* to justify him in indulging his inclination.¹ And we find Xerxes, the son of Darius Hystaspis, brought into almost exactly the same dilemma as "Darius the Mede," bound by having passed his word and anxious to retract it, but unable to do so on account of the law, and therefore compelled to allow the perpetration of cruelties whereof he entirely disapproved.² Again, it accords with Medo-

¹ Herod. iii. 31.

² Ibid. ix. 109-111.

Persic ideas that the mode of capital punishment in Babylonia, which, under the native monarchs, had been burning in a furnace (Dan. iii. 6), should under the new *régime* have been changed to an exposure to wild beasts; since the religious notions of the Medo-Persians forbade the pollution of fire by contact with a corpse,¹ while they allowed and approved the devouring of human bodies by animals.² Thirdly, the inclusion of the guiltless wives and children of criminals in their punishment, which is seen to have been the established practice under Darius the Mede, by Dan. vi. 24, appears frequently in Persian history as part of the ordinary administration of the criminal law under the Achæmenian kings.³ Even such a little point as the habit of a Median monarch to have music played to him at his nightly meal, which is implied in Dan. vi. 18, is capable of illustration from the profane accounts that have come down to us of the manners of the Median court.⁴ The tone, moreover, of the decree, ascribed to Darius, in Dan. vi. 26, 27, is com-

¹ Herod. iii. 16; Nic. Damasc. Fr. 68.

² *Zendavesta*, Farg. v. to Farg. viii.; Herod. i. 140; Strab. xv. 3, § 20.

³ Herod. iii. 119; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 56; Plutarch, *Vit. Artax.* c. 2.

⁴ See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 423.

pletely harmonious with Medo-Persic ideas, its basis being the identification of the Jehovah of the Jews with the Zoroastrian Ormazd, the one supreme God of the Medo-Persic people.

There is, further, a noticeable harmony between profane chronology and that account of the lapse of time which may be gathered from the book of Daniel. Harmony between Daniel's notes of time and profane chronology. The book itself is remarkably devoid of formal chronological statements, all the notes of time which occur in it being incidental, and, so to speak, casual. We find, however, from the first chapter (ver. 1), that the Captivity commenced in the "third year of king Jehoiakim;" and we gather from ch. ix. 2-19, that in the first year of Darius the Mede the seventy years which the Captivity was to last, according to Jeremiah (xxv. 11, 12), had nearly, but not quite run out. Now it appears from the Second Book of Kings (xxiii. 36; xxiv. 12), that Jehoiakim's third year preceded by a single year the accession of Nebuchadnezzar; and from that time to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, on which followed Darius the Mede's reign, was a period (according to Berossus and Ptolemy ¹) of sixty-seven years.

¹ See the "Canon" of Ptolemy; and compare Berossus ap. Joseph. c. Ap. i. 21.

It would thus be in the sixty-eighth year of the Captivity that Daniel, having "understood by books the number of the years whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet," sought unto the Lord "with fasting and sackcloth and ashes," and besought Him to "turn away his fury and anger from Jerusalem" (Dan. ix. 16), and "cause his face to shine upon his sanctuary" (Ib. 17), and "do and defer not" (Ib. 19). Such a near approach of the termination of the prophetical period is exactly what the preface to Daniel's prayer (verse 2), and the intensity of the prayer suggest, or (perhaps it may be said) imply

CHAPTER VII.

EZRA, NEHEMIAH, AND ESTHER.

IN Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, we have the history of the Jews for the space of a little more than a century after their return from the Captivity, — from about B. C. 538 to 434. The position of the people is entirely new.

Character of the history in these books. Points in them which admit of profane illustration.

No longer independent, no longer ruled by their native kings they form an integral portion of the great Persian Empire, the empire founded by Cyrus, and established by his successors over the whole of the vast tract lying between the river Sutelj and the African desert. Judæa is a sort of sub-satrapy of Syria, ruled, indeed, by its own special governor, but more or less under the supervision of the Syrian satrap, or “governor of the tract across the river” (Ezra v. 3). Its civil history, so far as it can be said to have one, consists in the treatment of its people by the several monarchs who occupy the Persian throne, and in the contentions which it carries on with neighboring tribes, who exhibit to-

wards is a marked hostility. There is not much in the narrative that is of a nature to receive illustration from profane sources. The position of the people is too humble, their proceedings are of too little importance, to attract the attention of the historical inquirer, or to be regarded as deserving of record by the historiographer. The points of contact with profane history are almost limited to two, — the succession and character of the Persian kings, and the organization of their court and kingdom.

The succession of the Persian kings is given in Ezra as follows: Cyrus, Ahasuerus, Artaxerxes, Darius, Artaxerxes¹; but it is not apparent whether this succession is strictly continuous, or whether there are any omissions in it. Profane authorities tell us that the actual kings in their complete order were, Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, etc. It is evident, on a comparison of these two lists, that that in Ezra is defective by the omission of Xerxes; but that otherwise it corresponds to the list of profane historians, with the exception that two of the monarchs — the second and the third — are called by other names. That royal personages among the Persians

Succession of
the Persian
kings correctly
given.

¹ See Ezra ch. iv. 5, 6, 7, 24; and ch. vii. 1.

had sometimes more names than one appears sufficiently from statements in the Greek historians. The Smerdis of Herodotus is the Tanyoxarces of Ctesias. Darius II. was, before his accession to the throne, called Ochus.¹ The original name of Artaxerxes Mnemon was Arsaces.² It would seem that Cambyses must have been known to some of his subjects as Ahasuerus (= Xerxes), and Smerdis as Artaxerxes, though we have no other evidence of the fact than that which Ezra furnishes. With regard to the omission of Xerxes from the list in Ezra, it results from the occurrence (which is very evident) of a gap between the first and the second part of the work, no events being related between the passover in the sixth year of Darius (B. C. 515), and the journey of Ezra from Babylon to Jerusalem, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes (B. C. 458). The omission of Xerxes by Ezra is, happily, compensated for by the narrative of Esther, which belongs wholly to his reign, and which, having its scene laid at Susa, is very much fuller of details with respect to Persian manners than the other books belonging to this period.

The character of Cyrus, and his actions, as

¹ Ctesias, *Excerpt. Persic.* § 49.

² Ibid. § 57 ; Plutarch, *Vit. Artaxerx.* § 2.

indicated by Ezra (and by Daniel), are in remarkable agreement with the notices which we possess of him in profane authors. Of all the Persian monarchs, he was the one most distinguished for mildness and clemency;¹ the one to whom the sufferings of a captive nation, torn violently from its home and subjected to seventy years of grievous oppression, would most forcibly have appealed. Again, he was an earnest Zoroastrian,² a worshipper of the "Great God, Ormazd," the special, if not the sole object of adoration among the *ancient* Persians; he was a hater of idolatry, and of the shameless rites which accompanied it, and he would naturally sympathize with such a people as the Jews, — a people whose religious views bore so great a resemblance to his own. Thus the restoration of the Jews by Cyrus, though an act almost without a parallel in the history of the world, was only natural under the circumstances; and the narrative of it, which Ezra gives us, is in harmony at once with the other Scriptural notices of the monarch,³ and with profane accounts of

Character and actions of Cyrus agree with profane accounts of him.

¹ Xenophon calls him *ψυχὴν φιλανθρωπότατον*, "of a most humane disposition" (*Cyrop.* i. 2, § 1). Berosus, Herodotus, and Ctesias all remark upon his clemency.

² Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 7, § 3; Nic. Dam. Fr. 66.

³ The immediate restoration, in his *first* year (*Ezra* i. 1), and

him. The edicts which he issued on the occasion (Ezra i. 2-4 and vi. 3-5) are alike suitable to his religious belief and to the generosity of his character. His acknowledgment of one "Lord God of Heaven" (Ezra i. 2); his identification of this God with the Jehovah of the Jews; and his pious confession that he has received all the kingdoms over which he rules from this source, breathe the spirit of the *old* Persian religion,¹ of which Cyrus was a sincere votary; while the delivery of the golden vessels from out of the treasury (i. 7-11; vi. 5); the allowance of the whole expense of rebuilding the Temple out of the royal revenue (vi. 4); and the general directions to all Persian subjects to "help with silver and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts" (i. 4), accord well with the munificence which is said to have been one of his leading characteristics.² It may be added

the words, "the Lord God of Heaven has charged me to build Him a house at Jerusalem," are well explained by the circumstances related in Dan. v. and by Isaiah xliv. 28. The fame of the "handwriting upon the wall," and the high dignity to which Daniel had been raised (Dan. v. 29), would necessarily bring him into personal contact with Cyrus upon the capture of the city; and he would then naturally communicate to Cyrus the prophecy of Isaiah.

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, by Prof. Rawlinson, vol. iii. pp. 347-357.

² Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3, § 7; 4, §§ 11 and 26, etc.

that the political liberality which is apparent in the assignment of so important a government as that of Babylonia to a *Mede*, is also characteristic of this king, who appointed two Medes in succession to govern the rich satrapy of Lydia,¹ and (according to one account²) assigned the government of Carmania to a Babylonian.

The discovery of the original decree of Cyrus, early in the reign of Darius Hystaspis,

Discovery of
his decree at
Ecbatana
agrees with his
habit of resid-
ing there.

“at Achmetha (or Ecbatana), in the palace that is in the province of the Medes” (vi. 2), is one of those *little* points of agreement between the sacred and the profane which are important because their very minuteness is an indication that they are purely casual and unintentional. When Ezra wrote, the Persian kings resided usually at Susa, or at Babylon, occasionally visiting, in the summer time, Ecbatana or Persepolis. Susa and Babylon, as the ordinary stations of the court, were the places at which the archives were laid up. But *Cyrus seems to have held his court permanently at Ecbatana*,³ and consequently it was there that he kept his archives, and

¹ Herod. i. 156 and 162.

² Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 10.

³ Herod, i. 153; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 2-4

there that his decree was found. Ezra, writing under Artaxerxes, nearly a century later, is not likely to have known the habits of Cyrus ; but he relates a fact which is in exact harmony with them.

With regard to Cambyses, the successor of Cyrus, and the usurper who reigned under the name of Smerdis, the book of Ezra tells us but little. All that we learn concerning them is, that both princes were solicited by the enemies of the Jews to hinder the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and that while Cambyses took no action upon the communication made to him, Smerdis, on the contrary, replied by a letter, in which he directly forbade the continuation of the work commenced under Cyrus and continued under his son and successor.¹ This departure from the policy of the two previous kings is rendered intelligible by the peculiar position of the monarch, as declared to us by profane writers,² and more fully explained in the great inscription of Darius at Behistun.³ Smerdis was a Magian, attached to a worship directly antagonistic to the faith of Zoroaster, and bent on reversing the policy of his two

Reversal of the decree of Cyrus by the next king but one, in harmony with his religious position

¹ See Ezra iv. 6-24.

² Herod. iii. 61; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 10; Justin, i. 9.

³ Col. i. par. 11-14.

predecessors in matters of religion. The fact that Cyrus and Cambyses sympathized with the Jews in respect of their belief, and allowed the restoration of their Temple and capital, would be sufficient reason to him for prohibiting it. Hence the severe edict which he issued (Ezra iv. 17-22), in which it is worthy of remark that none of that faith in a Supreme God appears which characterizes the decrees of Cyrus.¹

Of Darius, the next king to Smerdis, we have an interesting notice in the fifth and sixth chapters of Ezra. It appears that the Jews no sooner felt that this king was safely seated upon the throne, than, regarding the edict of Smerdis as null and void, they resumed the work, from which they had been compelled to desist, and pressed it forward with increased ardor, the two prophets, Zechariah and Haggai, helping them (Ezra v. 2). This bold course is explained by the known Zoroastrian zeal of Darius, who tells us in his great inscription that he commenced his reign by reversing the religious policy of his predecessor, "rebuilding the temples

Relations of Darius with the Jews, and terms of his edict, suitable to his character and circumstances.

¹ The Magians worshipped the elements, earth, air, water, and fire. Their creed was Pantheism, which is a form of Atheism.

which the Magian had destroyed, and restoring the religious chants and the worship which he had abolished." ¹ The Jews would naturally feel assured that they might count upon his sympathy, and so would resume the work without waiting for express warrant. Their enemies, however, might naturally be unwilling to relinquish the advantage which they had gained, until they had at least made an effort to retain it. Accordingly they addressed a long petition to the new monarch, informing him of the steps taken by the Jews, mentioning the ground on which they justified their conduct, namely, the decree of Cyrus, and suggesting that search should be made at *Babylon*, to see whether the archives contained any such decree or no (Ezra v. 6-17). They may have suspected that Smerdis would have destroyed any such document while he had the archives in his power, and have hoped that it would be impossible to produce it. The decree, however, was found at Ecbatana (vi. 2); and Darius at once put forth an edict, reciting it, and requiring the Syrian satrap and his subordinates to lend the Jews every help, instead of hindering them. The terms of the edict suit in every way the character and circumstances of Darius. He speaks of the Jewish temple

¹ *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 14, § 5 and § 6.

as "the house of God" (verses 7 and 8), and of Jehovah as "the God of Heaven" (verses 9 and 10); he approves, as a Zoroastrian would,¹ of the offering of sacrifices to the Supreme Being (Ib.); he values the prayers which he feels assured the Jews will address to Jehovah on his behalf (verse 10); and he invokes a curse² on those who shall injure or destroy the sacred edifice in which such prayers will be offered (verse 12). Further, he implies that he has already "sons" (verse 10), though he has but just ascended the throne, a fact which is confirmed by Herodotus;³ he speaks of the "tribute" (verse 8), which (according to the same author⁴) he was the first to impose on the provinces; and he threatens the disobedient with that punishment of impaling (verse 11) with which he most commonly punished offenders.⁵

Of Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, the book of Ezra tells us nothing; but it is now generally allowed by critics⁶ that he is

¹ Herod. i. 132; *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. pp. 349-351.

² Compare the curses invoked by this king on those who should injure his inscriptions (*Behist. Inscr.* col. iv. par. 17).

³ Herod. vii. 2.

⁴ Ibid. iii. 89.

⁵ *Behist. Inscr.* col. ii. par. 13, § 7; par. 14, § 16; col. iii. par. 8, § 2, etc. Herod. iii. 159.

⁶ As De Wette, Bertheau, Gesenius, Hävernicks, Dean Milman, Bp. Cotton, etc.

the monarch at whose court is laid the scene of the book of Esther. Assuming this identity (which follows both from the name assigned him,¹ and from the notes of time contained in Esther), we may remark that the character of the monarch, so graphically placed before us by the sacred historian, bears the closest possible resemblance to that which is ascribed by the classical writers to the celebrated son of Darius. "Proud, self-willed, amorous, careless of contravening Persian customs; reckless of human life, yet not actually bloodthirsty; impetuous, facile, changeable, — the Ahasuerus of Esther corresponds in all respects to the Greek portraiture of Xerxes;"² which is not (be it observed) the mere picture of an Oriental despot, but has various marked peculiarities that distinctly individualize it. And so with respect to his actions. In the third year of Ahasuerus was held a great feast and assembly in Shushan, the palace (Esth. i. 3). In the third year of Xerxes was held an assembly at Susa, to arrange the Grecian war.³ In the seventh year of Ahas-

Portrait of Xerxes in the book of Esther in close accordance with profane accounts of him

¹ The Hebrew *Ahashverosh* is the exact Semitic equivalent of the Persian *Khshayarshá*, which the Greeks rendered by Xerxes.

² Prof. Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures* for 1859, p. 186.

³ Herod. vii. 8.

uerus "fair young virgins were sought for him," and he replaced Vashti by marrying Esther (Ib. ii. 16). In the seventh year of Xerxes, he returned defeated from Greece, and consoled himself for his disasters by the pleasures of the seraglio.² The monarch who scourged the sea, and offered human victims in sacrifice,³ might well outrage Persian feeling by requiring Vashti to present herself unveiled before his courtiers (Ib. i. 10-12). The prince, who gave a sister-in-law, whom he had professed to love, into the power of a favorite wife to torture and mutilate,⁴ would naturally not shrink from handing over a tribe for which he had no regard, to the tender mercies of a favorite minister. One so changeable and so much under female influence as Xerxes always showed himself, might readily, under the circumstances related, alter his mind, and resolve to save the race which he had recently given over to destruction. And the same almost superstitious regard for his word, when once it had been passed, which we find recorded of him in Herodotus,⁵ would prevent him from simply revoking his edict, and determine him to meet the difficulty in

² Ibid. vii. 35, 114.

³ Ibid. ix. 108, 109.

⁴ Ibid. ix. 111.

⁵ Ibid. ix. 109.

another way. To the king who had lost one or two millions of soldiers in Greece, it might not seem very terrible to allow fighting for one or two days in most of the great cities of the Empire. Finally we can well understand that, after the exhaustion of the treasury by the Greek war, King Ahasuerus would have had to lay an increased tribute upon the land and upon the isles of the sea (Ib. x. 1), Cyprus, Aradus, the island of Tyre, etc.

Of Artaxerxes, the son and successor of Xerxes, we have two Biblical notices, — one in Ezra (vii. 7-26), and the other in Nehemiah (i. and ii.). We learn from the former of these two passages, that, like Cyrus and Darius, he held the identity of Jehovah with his own supreme God, Ormazd (verses 12, 21, 23), and that he approved of the Jewish worship, which he supported by offerings (verse 15), by grants from the state and the provincial treasuries (verses 20-22), and by a threat of severe pains and penalties (verse 26) against its impugners. The passage of Nehemiah throws light upon his personal character, which appears by the picture drawn to have been mild and amiable. The Oriental monarch, who would notice the sad expression on the countenance of an attendant,

Character of Artaxerxes, as drawn by Ezra and Nehemiah, agrees with that given by Plutarch and Diodorus.

make kind inquiry into its cause, and grant readily the request, which, while it inconvenienced himself, would bring back a cheerful look to his servant's face (Neh. ii. 1-8), must have been unlike the ordinary run of despots, and cannot possibly have been devoid of kindness of heart, good-nature, and other estimable qualities. Accordingly, we find that Longimanus is represented in an exceptional light by the Greek writers, one of whom calls him "the first of the Persian monarchs for mildness and magnanimity,"¹ while another celebrates the equity and moderation of his government, which was (he says) highly approved by the Persians.² Of the religious views of Longimanus we have no direct profane evidence; but there is no reason to doubt that he maintained the Zoroastrian sentiments of his ancestors.

The organization of the Persian court and kingdom which the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, represent to us comprises the following points. The monarch is despotic, in a certain sense; but he acts with the advice of a council, consisting ordinarily of the "seven princes of Persia and Media.

Organization
of the Persian
Court and
kingdom, as
depicted, in
Ezra, Esther,
and Nehe-
miah.

¹ Plutarch, *Vit. Artax.* § 1.

² Diod. Sic. xi. 71, § 2.

which see the king's face and sit the first in the kingdom " (Esth. i. 14 ; comp. Ezra vii. 14). He is also controlled to some extent by a "law of the Persians and the Medes, which alters not" (Esth. i. 19). His kingdom is divided into a number of districts or provinces — as many as one hundred and twenty-seven are mentioned (Esth. i. 1), — over which are set satraps (Ib. iii. 12 ; viii. 9), or other governors (Ib.), who "have maintenance from the palace" (Ezra iv. 14), collect and guard the revenue (Ib. vii. 21), which is partly paid in money, and partly in kind (Ib. verse 22), and report to the court if any danger threatens the tract under their charge (Ib. iv. 11-22 ; v. 3-17). The court communicates with the satraps, or other governors, by means of a system of mounted posts (Esth. iii. 13 ; viii. 10, 14), which rapidly convey the royal orders to the remotest parts of the empire. The royal orders are authenticated by being signed with the king's signet (Ib. iii. 10, 12, etc.). Record offices are established in different places, and the archives of the empire are deposited in them (Ezra vi. 1, 2). It is usual for the monarch to have a chief, or favorite minister, to whom he delegates, in a great measure, the government of his vast empire (Esth. iii. 1, 10 ; viii. 8 ; x. 2,

3). Special notice is taken of any service rendered to the king by a subject ; every such service is put on record (Ib. ii. 23 ; vi. 2) ; and the principle is laid down that royal benefactors are to receive an adequate reward (Ib. vi. 3). The king resides ordinarily either at Susa (Ib. i. 2 ; Neh. i. 1), or at Babylon (Ezra vii. 9 ; xiii. 6). His palace at Susa is a magnificent building, remarkable for its "pillars of marble," its "pavement of red, blue, white, and black," and its "hangings of white, green, and blue, which are fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to the pillars" (Esth. i. 6). The palace is furnished with couches of gold and silver, on which the guests recline when they banquet (Ib.). The drinking vessels are of solid gold (Ib. ver. 7). Wine is served to the king (Neh. ii. 1) and to his guests (Esth. i. 7) by cupbearers. Eunuchs are employed at the court, and fill positions of importance (Ib. i. 10 ; ii. 3, 21). The king has one chief wife, who partakes in his royal dignity, and numerous concubines (Ib. i. 11 ; ii. 3-14). Women are secluded ; they feast apart from the men (Ib. i. 9), and in the palace occupy the Gynæceum, or "house of the women" (Ib. ii. 9). It is a rare favor for even a single noble to be invited to banquet with the king and the queen (Ib.

v. 12). To intrude on the king's presence without invitation is a capital offense, and is punished with death, unless the king please to condone it (Ib. iv. 11).

Here, again, as in the parallel cases of Egypt and Assyria, the picture drawn is in thorough accord with what we know of the ancient Persians from profane writers and from their own monuments. The Persian despotism is represented by Herodotus as modified by the existence of a council,¹ and by the idea of an unalterable law, which the king might indeed break, but which he could not feel himself justified in breaking.² The existence of "seven princes" at the head of the nobility is indicated by the conspiracy of the seven chiefs who organized the revolt against Smerdis,³ as well as by the special privileges which attached to six great families besides that of the monarch.⁴ The division of the empire into numerous satrapies and sub-satrapies is generally attested by the Greek writers, and appears also in the inscriptions, and though so large a number of provinces as one hundred and twenty-seven is not

Agreement of the picture with profane accounts and with the Persian monuments.

¹ Herod. vii. 8.

² Ibid. iii. 31 ; ix. 111. Compare Plat. *Vit. Artax.* § 27.

³ Ibid. iii. 70-79. Compare *Behist Inscr.* col. iv. par. 18

⁴ Herod. iii. 84.

mentioned elsewhere than in Esther, yet we may trace through history a gradual increase in their number,¹ and we can readily understand that the vain-glorious Xerxes may have swelled the list by way of ostentation. The duty of the satraps to guard the tranquillity of the provinces, to collect the tribute, and to store it in provincial treasuries until the time came for transmitting it to the court, is apparent from the accounts which the best authors give of the satrapial office.² Besides the money tribute demanded from each province, it is a well-known fact that a considerable payment had to be made in kind.³ The Persian system of mounted posts was peculiar to them amongst the ancient peoples, and is described at length both by Xenophon and by Herodotus.⁴ Its special object was the conveyance of the royal commands to the provincial governors.⁵ A royal order, or *firman*, was al-

¹ Darius is said by Herodotus to have instituted originally twenty satrapies. But in the Behistun Inscription (col. i. par. 6) this monarch reckons the provinces as 21; in an inscription at Persepolis he enumerates 23; and in that upon his tomb at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, he mentions 29. Herodotus makes the nations composing the armament of Xerxes exceed 60.

² See Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 1-6, and Herod. iii. 89.

³ Herod. i. 192; iii. 91, etc.

⁴ Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 17, 18; Herod. viii. 98. On the employment of camels, no less than horses, in the postal service (Esth. viii. 10), see Strabo, xv. 2, § 10.

⁵ Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 18; Herod. iii. 126

ways authenticated by being signed with the royal signet.¹ The composition and preservation of state archives is attested by Ctesias,² who declared that he drew his Persian history from "royal parchments," to which he had access during his stay at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Favorite ministers, to whom they delegate the greater part of their duties, are found to have been employed by most of the Persian monarchs after the time of Darius.³ The recognition of a distinct class of "Royal Benefactors" appears to have been a special Persian institution. The names of such persons were entered upon a formal list; and it was regarded as the bounden duty of the monarch to see that they were adequately rewarded.⁴

So, too, with respect to the court. That Susa was its ordinary seat is apparent from Herodotus, Ctesias, and the Greek writers generally, while that it was fixed during a part of the year at Babylon, is declared by Xenophon, Plutarch, and others.⁵ The mag-

¹ Herod. iii. 128.

² Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 32.

³ Herod. vii. 5; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 20, 29, 49; Diod. Sic. xvi. 50, etc.

⁴ Herod. iii. 140; viii. 85, 90; Thucyd. 129.

⁵ Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 22; Plut. *de Exil.* p 604, Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 12, 28, etc.

nificence of the Susian palace is evidenced, not merely by the accounts of ancient authors, but by the existing remains, which exhibit four groups of "marble pillars" exquisitely carved, springing from a pavement composed chiefly of *blue* limestone, and constructed (in the opinion of the excavators) with a view to the employment of curtains or hangings between the columns, an arrangement thoroughly suitable to the site and climate.¹ Greek writers describe at length the splendor of the palace furniture, whereon the precious metals were prodigally lavished;² the number and variety of the officers, principally eunuchs;³ the richness and grandeur of the banquets;⁴ the seclusion of the women;⁵ and the like. They confirm the representations made of the vast size of the seraglio,⁶ and the superior dignity of one queen consort.⁷ They tell us that the several wives approached the monarch "in their turn."⁸ And they clearly intimate

¹ See Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 365-375.

² Athen. *Deipnos.* iv. p. 145, A; xii. p. 514, C; Æsch. *Pers.* l. 161; Philostrat. *Imag.* ii. 32.

³ Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1, § 38; *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 20.

⁴ Athen. *Deipn.* iv. pp. 145, 146.

⁵ Herod. iii. 58; Plut. *Vit. Artax.* § 27; Diod. Sic. xi. 56, § 7

⁶ Plut. *Vit. Artax.* § 27; Q. Curt. iii. 3.

⁷ See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. p. 216.

⁸ Herod. iii. 69. Compare Esth. ii. 12, 15.

that intrusion on the king's privacy was an offense punishable with death.¹

Remarkable as is this agreement of the books under consideration with profane history, and especially with the accounts which have come down to us of Persian habits, ideas, and practices, there have not been wanting persons to charge, at any rate, one of them — the book of Esther — with historical inaccuracy, and even with “containing a number of errors in regard to Persian customs.”² It would seem, therefore, to be necessary, before bringing this chapter to a conclusion, that a few words should be said in reply to these charges.

The historical inaccuracies alleged to be contained in Esther are the following: (1.) Amestris, it is said (who cannot be Esther, since she was the daughter of a Persian noble, Otanes), was the real Queen Consort of Xerxes, from the beginning of his reign to the end; and, therefore, the whole story of Esther being made queen, and of her great power and influence, is impossible. (2.) Mordecai, Esther's first cousin, having been carried into captivity with Jecooniah (Esth. ii. 6), in B. C. 588, must have been

Charges
brought
against the
book of
Esther.

1. Alleged
historical in-
accuracies.

¹ Herod. iii. 72, 77, 84, etc.

² De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 193 a.

at least 129 years old in B. C. 474, Xerxes' twelfth year, and Esther must, consequently, have been then too old to have influence through her beauty. (3.) Artabanus, the captain of the guard, was Grand Vizier, and ruled Xerxes at the time when Haman and Mordecai are given that position. Let us examine these "inaccuracies" in their order.

(1.) Amestris was undoubtedly, during the greater part of his reign, the chief wife of Xerxes. He married her in the These "inaccuracies" examined. life-time of his father, and she outlived him, and held the rank of Queen Mother under his son and successor, Artaxerxes. She cannot be the Esther of Scripture; but there is nothing to prevent her from being Vashti, whose disgrace may have been only temporary. Or possibly Vashti and Esther may both have been "secondary wives," though the title of Queen is given to them.¹ A young "secondary wife" might obtain a temporary influence over the monarch beyond that of the Queen Consort, though the power of the latter, not resting merely upon royal fancy, would outlast that of any such rival. We know far too little of the domestic life of Xerxes from profane sources to have any right

¹ See the articles on ESTHER and VASHTI in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*.

to pronounce the position which Esther is made to occupy in his harem from his seventh to his twelfth year "impossible," or even improbable.

(2.) It is not clear that Mordecai is said in Esther to have been carried into captivity with Jeconiah. The passage referred to (Esth. ii. 5, 6) is ambiguous. It may be, and probably is Kish, Mordecai's great grandfather, of whom the assertion is made in verse 6, that he "had been carried away from Jerusalem with the captivity which had been carried away with Jeconiah, whom Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, had carried away." This construction of the passage, which the Hebrew idiom fully allows, would accord completely with the date of Xerxes.¹

(3.) There is no evidence at what time in Xerxes' reign he fell under the influence of Artabanus, the captain of the guard. We only know that this chief ruled him towards the close of his reign.² It is therefore quite possible that between the death of Mardonius, B. C. 479, and the rise of Artabanus to power, first Haman and then Mordecai may have held

¹ * The verb in this case belongs to the nearer subject instead of a remoter one. This consistency with the chronology as thus indicated by other data is of itself a reason for reckoning here from Kish and not from Mordecai. — H.

² Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 29.

the position assigned them in Esther. Indeed, there are some grounds for identifying Mordecai with a person who is expressly said to have been very influential with Xerxes, namely, Natacas, or Matacas, the eunuch. For the name, Matacas, would probably be rendered in Chaldee by Mordecai;¹ and there is sufficient reason for believing that Mordecai belonged to the class of persons to whom Ctesias assigns Matacas.²

Of the alleged "errors in regard to Persian customs," the following are the principal.

(2.) Alleged errors in regard to Persian customs. (1.) A Persian king, it is said, would never have invited his Queen to a carousal. (2.) He could not legally, and therefore it is supposed he could not possibly marry a wife not belonging to one of the seven great Persian families. (3.) Such honors as are said to have been conferred on Mordecai (Esth. vi. 8-11), being in their nature royal, would never have been allowed by a Persian king to a subject. (4.) No Persian king would have issued two such murderous decrees as are ascribed to Ahasuerus, or have allowed a subject race to massacre 75,000 Persians.

In reply, we may observe (1) that the Per-

¹ See Bp. A. Hervey's article on MORDECAI in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 420, and vol. iii. p. 2010, Amer. ed.

² *Exc. Pers.* § 20 and § 27.

sian abhorrence of such an act as exhibiting the Queen unveiled to a set of rev-
 elers is implied in the refusal of
 Vashti (Esth. i. 11); and that the question of the possibility or impossibility of the thing occurring is merely a question of the lengths to which a Persian monarch would go in outraging propriety and violating established usage. Now when Cambyses shot the son of one of his nobles, merely to prove the steadiness of his hand,¹ and when Xerxes called on his brother Masistes to divorce his wife without even a pretext,² they shocked their subjects and outraged propriety as much as Ahasuerus did when he sent his order to Vashti. There were, in fact, no limits which a Persian monarch might not, and did not, when he chose, overstep, nor any customs which he held absolutely sacred. And the character of Xerxes would make such an outrage as that related more probable under him than under other kings. Hence even De Wette allows that "the invitation to Vashti is possible on account of the advancing corruption in Xerxes' time and through the folly of Xerxes himself."³ (2.) The marriage

¹ Herod. iii. 35.

² Ibid. ix. 111.

³ *Einleitung in das A. Test.* p. 267; [and De Wette-Schrader, p. 398 (1869). This later edition contains all of De Wette with additions by Schrader, supplementary or corrective.]

of Ahasuerus with a Jewess, even if we regard it as a marriage in the fullest sense, would not be more illegal or more abhorrent to Persian notions than Cambyzes' marriage with his full sister.¹ It is therefore just as likely to have taken place. If, on the other hand, it was a marriage of the secondary kind, the law with respect to the king's wives being taken from the seven great families would not apply to it. (3.) The honors granted to Mordecai were certainly very unusual in Persia. They consisted in three² things, all of which were capital offenses, if done without the royal permission. But we find Persian kings allowing their subjects in these or parallel acts occasionally, either for a special purpose, or even out of mere good-nature. Xerxes, on one occasion made his uncle, Artabanus, put on his dress, sit for a time on his throne, and then go to sleep in his bed.³ And Artaxerxes Mnemon permitted Tiribazus to wear, as often as he liked, a robe which had been his, and which he had given to him.⁴ There is nothing really contrary to Oriental notions in the allowance to a subject even of royal

¹ Herod. iii. 31.

² Wearing the royal apparel, riding on the king's horse, and having the crown royal set upon his head (see Esther vi. 8).

³ Herod. vii. 17.

⁴ Plutarch, *Vit. Artax.* § 5

honors *for a time* and under certain circumstances. (4.) The murderous decrees ascribed to Ahasuerus have nothing incredible in them to one who is familiar with Oriental, or even with Persian history. Human life is of little account in the East. When Cambyses, on his return to Egypt, from an unsuccessful expedition into Ethiopia, found the Egyptians celebrating an incarnation of Apis, he gave orders that every one who was seen keeping the festival should be put to death.¹ When the seven conspirators had slain the Pseudo-Smerdis, they proceeded with their friends to massacre every Magus whom they could lay their hands on.² In memory of the event, a feast, called Magophonia, was kept every year, during which every Magus who showed himself, might be killed by any one.³ The massacres of the Mamelukes and the Janissaries are familiar to all. As for the objection that a Persian king would never have allowed the massacre of "75,000 *Persians*," it is based on a misconception. The 75,000 were certainly not all of them (Esth. ix. 16), and perhaps not any of them Persians. They were the Jews' enemies, those who set upon them, *in the provinces*. Now there was no natural antagonism

¹ Herod. iii. 29.

² Ibid. iii. 79

³ Ibid. Compare Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 15

between the Persians and the Jews, while there was a very strong antagonism between the Jews and such of the subject nations as were idolaters. Moreover, the Persians in the provinces consisted almost entirely of persons in the service of the crown, military or civil, who would have orders from the court, at any rate, not to take part against the Jews. Thus the persons slain would belong, like the Jews themselves, to the subject races, whose lives such a monarch as Xerxes held exceedingly cheap.

[* It is a peculiarity of this book of Esther that the name of Jehovah or God is not once mentioned in it. This omission is the less surprising, because it occurs in a history so full of interpositions that reveal the actual presence of Him who presides over the destiny of men and of nations, and also the power of that faith in the unseen One, which made the actors in this great national drama so hopeful and enduring. Professor Stuart says very truly: "The fact that the feast of Purim¹ has come down to us from time almost immemorial, proves as certainly that the

¹* The feast of Purim, (which means *lots*) was so called ironically by the Jews, with reference to Haman's frustrated conspiracy against them (Esther iv. 24; and 2 Macc. xv. 36). It was an annual festival of two days, the 14th and 15th of the month Adar; i. e. about the middle of March. — H

main events in the book of Esther happened, as the Declaration of Independence and the celebration of the Fourth of July prove that we separated from Great Britain and became an independent nation. The book of Esther is an essential document to explain the feast of Purim." The self-asserting character of truthfulness which the narrative assumes, as illustrated in Dean Milman's sketch of the events, speaks strongly in its favor.]

It would seem, then, that there is really no ground for the assertion that the writer of Esther has fallen into errors with regard to Persian customs. The Conclusion book of Esther, no less than the books of Nehemiah and Ezra, exhibits a profound acquaintance with Oriental, and especially with Persian notions and modes of thought. Its author was undoubtedly a Jew who lived at the court of Susa, under the Persian kings, and its facts are worthy of our full acceptance.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION.

THE historical books of the Old Testament have now been passed in review before the reader, and their matter has been, where it was possible, compared with such profane records of the past as are generally considered by critics to be most authentic, — with the monuments and hieroglyphics of Egypt, the cuneiform inscriptions of Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia, the single extant record of Moab, and the writings of the best ancient historians, such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Ctesias, Manetho, Berosus, Abydenus, Menander of Ephesus, Nicolas of Damascus, and others. The result seems to be, in the first place, that contradiction between the sacred and the profane scarcely occurs, unless it be in chronological statements, and that it is even there confined within narrow limits. In a few places, and a few places only, the Scriptural record of time, as contained in the extant Hebrew text, differs from that of Assyrian

Results of the inquiry.

1. Very little contradiction between the sacred and the profane.

monuments or Egyptian historians.¹ The difference is in general one of no more than a few years; and in no case after the time of Solomon (before which the sacred chronology is vague, while profane chronology is uncertain) does it amount to so much as half a century. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that such discrepancies as occur in this matter are accidental, arising either from different modes of computing time, from the corruption of a reading, from the carelessness of an engraver, or from some similar circumstance. In the general outline of human affairs, in the account given of the rise and flourishing periods of kingdoms, of their succession one after another, of their duration, their character, their conquests, and the order of their sovereigns, the sacred narrative shows a remarkable agreement with the best profane sources, only in a very few places bringing before us personages in a position of apparent importance, whom we cannot distinctly identify with known characters in profane history. The cases of this kind which still remain as difficulties are two only, those of Pul and Darius the Mede.² All the other Oriental monarchs mentioned by name in the

2. Large amount of minute agreement.

¹ See above, pp. 154, 155.

² See pp. 131-134, and 183-186.

course of the narrative are, if we possess the profane history of the period in any detail, capable of being recognized in it.¹ The characters of the kings, as drawn in Scripture and by profane writers, agree. Their actions are either such as profane historians record, or such as are natural to persons in their position. Above all, there is a minute agreement between the Scriptural account of the habits, customs, and ideas of the several nations, which the course of the narrative brings before us, and the description of them which is obtainable from their own monuments and from the best ancient writers. In four instances — those of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, — our knowledge of the condition of the people at the time indicated being exact, and copious, if not complete, the comparison may be made *in extenso*; and it is especially in these four instances that the harmony between the sacred and the profane is most striking.²

What, then, is the force of the whole agreement? What are we justified in deducing from it? In the first place it justifies us in setting aside as wholly inadmissible the theory which not long ago

Conclusions to
be drawn from
these results.

¹ Page 153.

² Pp. 41-48, 70-81, 156 165, 170-173, and 207-211.

was so popular in Germany, that the so-called historical narratives of the Old Testament are legends or myths — tales, *i. e.* invented by moral teachers as a convenient vehicle whereby to instil into men's minds moral truths. It is clear that the narratives are, in the strictest sense of the word, histories, that the writers intend to record, and do at any rate in the main record, facts; that the personages of whom they speak are real personages, the events which they describe real events, which actually happened at the times to which they assigned them. The only question that can be raised is: Do they describe the events *as they happened*, or do they allow themselves to embellish them? In other words, are the miraculous portions of the narrative to be accepted, or may we safely set them aside; as we do the prodigies, when we read the most authentic portions of Herodotus or Livy? It is often said, that whatever historical confirmation of the general narrative of Scripture has been discovered recently, there is no such confirmation of the miracles. And this is no doubt true. The Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Moabite, and Persian historiographers have not placed on record the miracles which were wrought by, and for, or at any rate in close connection with, the Jews. It was not

to be expected that they would do so, since they never seek to glorify any nation but their own. The miracles must stand on their own basis, — on the evidence, *i. e.* of the writers who record them, and their trustworthiness as witnesses to facts. They cannot be cut out of the narrative, because they are integral portions of it, often constituting its turning-point, and being the very thing that the writer is bent on recording, so that without the miracles his narrative would be pointless and meaningless. What we have to ask ourselves is, Which is more likely, that writers, bent on relating a set of false miracles, should be careful to make their narrative conform, in all its *minutiæ*, to historic accuracy, an accuracy extending to numerous points on which they could not expect their readers to have any knowledge, or that the miracles which they record were actually performed, and are related by them with the same truthfulness which is found to characterize the rest of their history? Unless we start with a foregone conclusion that miracles are impossible, we can scarcely fail to embrace the latter hypothesis rather than the former.

Briefly, the historic accuracy of the sacred writers in those parts of their narrative which we can test, goes far to authenticate their whole narrative. The miraculous facts being

inextricably intertwined with the facts which are natural and ordinary, it is necessary either to accept or reject both together. But the laws of historical criticism do not allow us to reject the ordinary facts, since they satisfy all the tests by which real is known from pretended history. We are bound, therefore, to accept the extraordinary.

Again, a conclusion which forces itself on us irresistibly when we compare the sacred books with the best profane sources, is that the Scripture narrative must have been written, in the main, by eye-witnesses of the events recorded: the Pentateuch probably by Moses; Joshua by one of the "elders" who outlived him; Samuel by Samuel; Kings and Chronicles by the prophets contemporary with the several monarchs; Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah by the persons whose names they bear; Esther by one who lived under Xerxes. But if so, the writers could not possibly be ignorant of the truth. And no one now imagines that they intended to deceive. Strauss says, "It would most unquestionably be an argument of *decisive* weight in favor of the credibility of the Biblical history, could it indeed be shown that it was written by eye-witnesses."¹ This is exactly what the minute accuracy of the sacred writers, and their close agreement with

¹ *Leben Jesu*, § 13.

contemporary records and the best profane historians, shows almost to a certainty. The credibility of the Biblical history would thus seem to be, even according to Rationalism itself, established.¹

¹ * Nor can it be irrelevant to add here, that this line of argument so applicable to the Old Testament, may be applied with still greater force to the writings of the New Testament; for the points of contact between these and contemporary history are still more numerous and diversified, and admit of a more ready verification. Take, for example, the book of the Acts of the Apostles. The history which we read in the Acts connects itself at numerous points with the social customs of different and distant nations; with the fluctuating civil affairs of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans; and with geographical or political divisions and arrangements, which were constantly undergoing some change or modification. Through all these circumstances, which underlie Luke's narrative from commencement to end, the author pursues his way without a single instance of contradiction or collision. Examples of the most unstudied harmony with the complicated relations of the times present themselves at every step. No writer who was conscious of fabricating his story would have hazarded such a number of minute allusions, since they increase so immensely the risk of detection; and still less, if he had ventured upon it, could he have introduced them so skillfully as to baffle every attempt to discover a single well-founded instance of ignorance or oversight. It adds to the force of the argument to remark, that in the pages of Luke every such allusion falls from him entirely without effort or parade. It never strikes the reader as far-fetched or contrived. Every incident flows naturally out of the progress of the narrative. It is no exaggeration to say, that the well-informed reader, who will study carefully the book of the Acts, and compare the incidental notices to be found there with the geography and the political history of the times, and with the customs of the different countries in which the scene of the transactions is laid, will receive an impression of the writer's fidelity and accuracy, equal to that of the most forcible treatises on the truth of Christianity. — H.

APPENDIX.¹

I.

ASSYRIAN STORY OF THE FLOOD.

SOME fifteen years ago, in excavating the site of the old palace of Nineveh, the debris of the royal library was found there. History in that age was written on clay tablets, and some of those found here were twenty-five hundred years old. They were brought to England and deposited in the British Museum. Among those who have studied these inscriptions is Mr. George Smith, connected with the Museum, whom Sir Henry Rawlinson pronounces the greatest Assyrian scholar now living.

Among these tablets, Mr. Smith found some relating to the flood, of which three different copies exist containing duplicate texts, and belonging to the time of Assurbanipal, about 660 B. C. The original text, as appears from the tablets, must have belonged to the city of Erech, and have been translated into the Semitic Babylonian at a very early period. Some of the evidences of its antiquity are, first, the three Assyrian copies contain various readings which had crept into the text since the first document was written; secondly, the Assyrian copyist did not know the exact literal representative of the older original character; and, thirdly, some sentences originally glosses have crept into the text of the later copy. The original composition is decided to be as old at least as the nineteenth century before the Christian era.²

The principal personage in these legends is Izdubar (the name is anagrammatic rather than personal),³ a king who lived

¹ This Appendix has been added by the American editor.

² This discovery is pronounced "one of the most important and valuable ever made in the province of archæology" (*The Academy*, London April 15, 1873).

³ Conjectured by Sir H. Rawlinson to mean "source of fire"

near the time of a great deluge and belonged to Erech, now Warka, one of the most ancient cities of the world. The other cities mentioned are Babel, Surippak, and Nipur. Two of these, Babel and Erech, are the first two capitals of Nimrod : and Nipur, according to the Talmud, is the same as Calneh (Gen. x. 10), another of Nimrod's cities.

Izdubar, having conquered Belesus, a great king, and put on his rival's crown, and having married Ishtar, a princess of great beauty, became ill and began to fear death, man's great enemy. To escape such a fate he wandered forth in search of a patriarch named Sisit, whom the Babylonians supposed to have become immortal without having died. Izdubar hoped to learn from him the secret of this escape from the common lot of mortals. In the course of these wanderings he met a seaman named Urhamsi, and fitting out a vessel the two sailed along for a month and fifteen days till they arrived at a place near the mouth of the Euphrates where Sisit was supposed to dwell. They make known their request to him, but must converse across a stream which divided the immortal and the mortal from each other.

The first ten tablets, which are very mutilated, contain almost nothing relating to this subject. The eleventh tablet, which is much more complete, begins with a speech of Izdubar, who inquires of Sisit how he became immortal. Sisit, in answer to this question, proceeds to relate the

STORY OF THE FLOOD.

1.¹ Izdubar after this manner said to Sisit afar off 2. Sisit. 3. The account do thou tell to me 4. The account do thou tell to me 5. to the midst to make war 6. I come up after thee 7. say how thou hast done it and in the circle of the gods life thou hast gained. 8. Sisit after this manner said to Izdubar, 9. I will reveal to thee, Izdubar, the concealed story, 10. and the wisdom of the gods I will relate to thee. 11. The city Surippak the city which thou hast established . . . placed 12. was ancient, and the gods within it 13. dwelt, a tempest . . . their god, the great gods 14. Anu 15. Bel 16. Ninip 17. lord of Hades 18. their will revealed in the midst of 19. hearing and he spoke to me thus 20. Surrippakite son of Ubaratutu 21. make a great

¹ The figures mark the successive lines and show whether they are more or less complete

ship for thee 22. I will destroy the sinners and life 23. cause to go in the seed of life all of it to preserve them 24. the ship which thou shalt make 25. cubits shall be the measure of its length and 26. cubits the amount of its breadth and its height 27. Into the deep launch it. 28. I perceived and said to Hea my lord, 29. "Hea my lord this that thou commandest me 30. I will perform, it shall be done. 31. army and host 32. Hea opened his mouth and spake, and said to me his servant 33. thou shalt say unto them 34. he has turned from me and 35. fixed

[Here there are about fifteen lines entirely lost. The absent passage probably described part of the building of the ark.]

DESCRIPTION OF THE ARK.

51. it 52. which in 53. strong I brought 54. on the fifth day it 55. in its circuit fourteen measures its sides 56. fourteen measures it measured over it 57. I placed its roof on it I inclosed it 58. I rode in it, for the sixth time I for the seventh time 59. into the restless deep for the time 60. its planks the waters within it admitted 61. I saw breaks and holes my hand placed 62. three measures of bitumen I poured over the outside 63. three measures of bitumen I poured over the inside 64. three measures the men carrying its baskets took they fixed an altar 65. I inclosed the altar the altar for an offering 66. two measures the altar Paziru the pilot 67. for slaughtered oxen 68. of in that day also 69. altar and grapes 70. like the waters of a river and 71. like the day I covered and 72. when covering my hand placed 73. and Shamas . . . the material of the ship completed. 74. strong and 75. reeds I spread above and below. 76. went in two thirds of it. 77. All I possessed I collected it, all I possessed I collected of silver. 78. all I possessed I collected of gold. 79. all I possessed I collected of the seed of life, the whole 80. I caused to go up into the ship, all my male and female servants. 81. the beasts of the field, the animals of the field, and the sons of the army all of them, I caused to go up.

THE EARTH SWEEPED BY STORM AND FLOOD.

82. A flood Shamas made, and 83. he spake saying in the night, "I will cause it to rain from heaven heavily; 84. enter to the midst of the ship, and shut thy door." 85. A flood he

raised, and 86. he spake saying in the night, "I will cause it to rain from heaven heavily." 87. In the day that I celebrated his festival 88. the day which he had appointed; fear I had, 89. I entered to the midst of the ship, and shut my door 90. to guide the ship, to Buzursadirabl the pilot, 91. the palace I gave to his hand. 92. The raging of a storm in the morning 93. arose, from the horizon of heaven extending and wide 94. Vul in the midst of it thundered, and 95. Nebo and Saru went in front; 96. the throne bearers went over mountains and plains; 97. the destroyer Nergal overturned; 98. Ninip went in front, and cast down; 99. the spirits carried destruction; 100. in their glory they swept the earth; 101. of Vul the flood, reached to heaven; 102. the bright earth to a waste was turned; 103. the surface of the earth, like . . . it swept; 104. it destroyed all life, from the face of the earth. 105. the strong tempest over the people, reached to heaven. 106. Brother saw not his brother, it did not spare the people. In heaven 107. The gods feared the tempest, and 108. sought refuge; they ascended to the heaven of Anu; 109. The gods like dogs with tails hidden, couched down. 110. Spake Ishtar a discourse 111. uttered the great goddess her speech 112. "The world to sin has turned, and 113. then I in the presence of the gods prophesied evil; 114. when I prophesied in the presence of the gods evil, 115. to evil were devoted all my people, and I prophesied 116. thus, 'I have begotten man and let him not 117. like the sons of the fishes fill the sea.'" 118. The gods concerning the spirits, were weeping with her; 119. the gods in seats, seated in lamentation; 120. covered were their lips for the coming evil.

THE STORM CALMED.

121. Six days and nights 122. passed, the wind tempest and storm overwhelmed, 123. on the seventh day in its course, was calmed the storm and all the tempest 124. which had destroyed like an earthquake, 125. quieted. The sea he caused to dry, and the wind and tempest ended. 126. I was carried through the sea. The doer of evil, 127. and the whole of mankind who turned to sin, 128. like reeds their corpses floated. 129. I opened the window and the light broke in, over my refuge 130. it passed, I sat still and 131. over my refuge came peace. 132. I was carried over the shore, at the boundary of the sea, 133. for twelve measures it ascended over the land. 134. To the

country of Nizir, went the ship; 135. the mountains of Nizir stopped the ship, and to pass over it, it was not able. 136. The first day and the second day, the mountain of Nizir the same. 137. The third day and the fourth day, the mountain of Nizir the same. 138. The fifth and sixth, the mountain of Nizir the same.

A DOVE FROM THE ARK.

139. On the seventh day in the course of it 140. I sent forth a dove and it left. The dove went and searched, and 141. a resting place it did not find, and it returned. 142. I sent forth a swallow and it left. The swallow went and searched, and 143. a resting place it did not find, and it returned. 144. I sent forth a raven, and it left. 145. The raven went, and the corpses on the waters it saw, and 146. it did eat, it swam, and wandered away, and did not return. 147. I sent the animals forth to the four winds. I poured out a libation. 148. I built an altar on the peak of the mountain, 149. by seven herbs I cut, 150. at the bottom of them, I placed reeds, pines, and simgar. 151. The gods collected at its burning, the gods collected at its good burning, 152. the gods like sumbe over the sacrifice gathered. 153. From of old also, the great God in his course, 154. the great brightness of Anu had created; when the glory 155. of these gods, as of Uknî stone, on my countenance I could not endure; 156. in those days I prayed that forever I might not endure.

THE GOD OF THE TEMPEST.

157. May the gods come to my altar; 158. may Bel not come to my altar 159. for he did not consider and had made a tempest, 160. and my people he had consigned to the deep 161. from of old, also Bel in his course 162. saw the ship, and went Bel with anger filled to the gods and spirits; 163. let not any one come out alive, let not a man be saved from the deep. 164. Ninip his mouth opened and spake, and said to the warrior Bel, 165. "Who then will be saved?" Hea the words understood, 166. and Hea knew all things, 167. Hea his mouth opened and spake, and said to the warrior Bel, 168. "Thou prince of the gods, warrior, 169. when thou wast angry a tempest thou madest, 170. the doer of sin did his sin, the doer of evil did his evil, 171. may the exalted not be broken, may the captive not be delivered; 172. instead of thee making a tempest, may lions increase and men be reduced; 173. instead of thee making a

tempest, may leopards increase and men be reduced; 174. instead of thee making a tempest, may a famine happen, and the country be destroyed; 175. instead of thee making a tempest, may pestilence increase, and men be destroyed." 176. I did not peer into the wisdom of the gods, 177. reverent and attentive a dream they sent, and the wisdom of the gods he heard.

THE COUNTRY PURIFIED.

178. When his judgment was accomplished, Bel went up to the midst of the ship, 179. he took my hand and brought me out, me 180. he brought out, he caused to bring my wife to my side, 181. he purified the country, he established in a covenant, and took the people 182. in the presence of Sisit and the people; 183. when Sisit and his wife and the people to be like the gods were carried away, 184. then dwelt Sisit in a remote place at the mouth of the river; 185. they took me and in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers they seated me, 186. when to thee whom the gods have chosen, thee and 187. the life which thou hast sought, after thou shalt gain 188. this do for six days and seven nights 189. like I say also, in bonds bind him 190. the way like a storm shall be laid upon him. 191. Sisit after this manner said to his wife 192. I announce that the chief who grasps at life 193. the way like a storm shall be laid upon him; 194. his wife after this manner, said to Sisit afar off 195. purify him and let the man be sent away 196. the road that he came, may he return in peace, 197. the great gate open, and may he return to his country. 198. Sisit after this manner, said to his wife, 199. the cry of a man alarms thee, 200. this do, his scarlet cloth place on his head, 201. and the day when he ascended the side of the ship 202. she did, his scarlet cloth she placed on his head, 203. and the day when he ascended on the side of the ship.

The lines that follow next are very obscure. The close of the Tablet reads as follows:—

242. Izdubar and Urhamsi rode in the boat 243. where they placed them they rode. 244. His wife after this manner said to Sisit afar off 245. Izdubar goes away, is satisfied, performs 246. that which thou hast given him and returns to his country 247. and he heard and after Izdubar, 248. he went to the shore 249. Sisit after this manner said to Izdubar 250. Izdubar thou goest away, thou art satisfied, thou performest 251. that which I have

given thee and thou returnest to thy country 252. I have revealed to thee Izdubar the concealed story.

The original or cuneiform names are mostly written in monogram, and therefore difficult to represent in English. The cuneiform account, says Mr. Smith, like the Biblical account, describes the deluge as a punishment on men for their sins. The Greek account of Berosus says nothing of that occasion of the flood. The dimensions of the ark are unfortunately lost by a fracture which makes the figures illegible. In both cases (see Gen. vi. 19 ff.) animals are taken into the ark for the perpetuation of the species. The duration of the flood is shorter in the legend than in the Bible account (Gen. vii. 11, ff.); for the inscription states that the flood abated on the seventh day, and that the ship remained seven days on the mount before sending out the birds. The accounts differ as to the mount on which the ark rested; but agree as to the building of the altar and the sacrifice on leaving the ark. Our interpreter suggests that the Babylonian account may combine two distinct and older traditions; and further that the Mosaic account appears to be that of an inland people while the Babylonian account appears to be that of a maritime people.¹

II.

THE MOABITE STONE.

Its Discovery.

This monument which has awakened so much interest among scholars and in the public mind generally, was discovered in 1868 by Rev. F. Klein of the Church Missionary Society in Jerusalem. It was found at *Dhiban*, the Biblical *Dibon* (Num. xxi. 30; Is. xv. 2, etc.), on the east of the Jordan in the ancient territory of the Moabites. It is a region remote from the ordinary route of travellers, and but little known to foreigners. The stone was lying on the ground with the inscription uppermost, measuring about three feet nine inches long, two feet four

¹ Maturer study may modify some of the readings or conclusions from them, but are not likely to vary very much the results

inches in breadth, and one foot two inches thick. Through the efforts mainly of Captain Warren, and of the French vice-consul at Jerusalem, M. Ganneau, an impression (or *squeeze* so called) was taken of the main block and of certain recovered parts which had been broken off by the Arabs.

Mr. Deutsch of the British Museum, decides that the characters of this stone are older than many of the Assyrian bi-lingual cylinders which are as old at least as the ninth century B. C. No word occurs in the language of this inscription of which the root does not exist in the Hebrew Bible. It reads in this respect M. de Vogüé remarks, like a page from the Hebrew Scriptures. The form of the letters is the oldest known to any written language. The Pentateuch was no doubt written in such letters in the time of Moses, and Solomon and Hiram corresponded with each other in such characters. (See Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9, § 1.)

Among the various translations of this document (we have them from Ganneau and Derenbourg in French; Noeldeke, Haug, and Schlottmann in German, and Neubauer, Ginsburg, and others in English), that of Dr. Ginsburg is the best for English readers. We insert it here with figures showing the order of the lines as arranged on the stone, some of them being incomplete or illegible.¹

TRANSLATION.

1. I Mesha am son of Chemoshgad King of Moab, the 2. Dibonite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I reigned 3. after my father. And I erected this Stone to Chemosh at Karcha [a stone of] 4. [Sa]lvation, for he saved me from all despoilers and let me see my desire upon all my enemies. 5. and Om[r]i, King of Israel, who oppressed Moab many days, for Chemosh was angry with his 6. [la]nd. His son succeeded him, and he also said, I will oppress Moab. In my days he said, [let us go] 7. and I will see my desire on him and his house, and Israel said, I shall destroy it forever. Now Omri took the land 8. Medeba and occupied it [he and his son

¹ *The Moabite Stone; a Fac-simile of the Inscription, etc.* (Lond 1870, pp. 1-45). It contains also the other translations referred to above and is illustrated by valuable notes. The translations of Prof Schlottmann and of M. de Vogüé will be found in *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp 396-399 (1871)

and his son's] son, forty years. And Chemosh [had mercy] 9. on it in my days; and I built Baal Meon, and made therein the ditch and I [built] 10. Kirjathaim, for the men of Gad dwelled in the land [Atar]oth from of old, and the K[ing of I]srael fortified 11. A[t]aroth, and I assaulted the wall and captured it, and killed all the wa[rriors of] 12. the wall, for the well pleasing of Chemosh and Moab, and I removed from it all the spoil, and [of 13. fered] it before Chemosh in Kirjath, and I placed therein the men of Siran and the me[n of Zereth] 14. Shachar. And Chemosh said to me, Go take Nebo against Israel. [And I] 15. went in the night, and I fought against it from the break of dawn till noon, and I took 16. it, and slew in all seven thousand [men], but I did not kill the women 17. and [ma]idens, for [I] devoted [them] to Ashtar-Chemosh; and I took, from it 18. [the ves]sels of Jehovah and offered them before Chemosh. And the King of Israel fortif[ied] 19. Jahaz, and occupied it, when he made war against me; and Chemosh drove him out before [me and] 20. I took from Moab two hundred men, all chiefs, and fought against Jahaz, and took it, 21. in addition to Dibon. I built Karcha, the wall of the forest, and the wall 22. of the city, and I built the gates thereof, and I built the towers thereof, and I 23. built the palace, and I made the prisons for the men of . . . with[in the] 24. wall. And there was no cistern within the wall in Karcha, and I said to all the people, Make for yourselves 25. every man a cistern in his house. And I dug the ditch for Karcha with the [chosen] men of 26. [Is]rael. I built Aroer and I made the road across the Arnon, 27. I built Beth-Bamoth, for it was destroyed; I built Bezer, for it was cu[t down] 28. by the fifty m[en] of Dibon, for all Dibon was now loyal; and I sav[ed] 29. [from my enemies] Bikran, which I added to my land, and I bui[lt] 30. [Beth-Gamul], and Beth-Diblathaim, and Beth-Baal-Meon, and I placed there the Mo[abites] 31. [to take possession of] the land. And Horonaim dwelt therein . . . 32. And Chemosh said to me, Go down, make war against Horonaim, and ta[ke it] . . . 33. Chemosh in my days 34. year and I . . .

COMMENTARY.

The tablet thus translated is a commemorative record of the successes of Mesha, king of Moab, against the Israelites during a reign of forty years or more from about B. C. 925. Nearly two

thirds of the inscription relate to the deliverance of his land, in the latter part of his reign, from its vassalage to the dynasty of Omri. Hitherto, we have known very little concerning the relations between Moab and the Israelites during a period of nearly eighty years between the merciless subjugation of the Moabites by David (2 Sam. viii. 2, 11, 12; 1 Chr. xviii. 2, 11) and the notice of the revolt after the death of Ahab (2 K. i. 1; xiii. 5 sq.).

From the stone it would appear that Moab's subjection had not lasted during this whole period, but had ceased perhaps in the time of Solomon and had been reimposed by Omri who had made himself sovereign of the northern kingdom (B. C. 935). This tributary connection lasted through the greater part of Omri's dynasty, *i. e.* during the forty years of the stone, but came to an end under Jehoram who though aided by the kings of Judah and Edom and at times remarkably successful, was unable to quell the rebellion of the Edomite Mesha. This failure of the Israelite king seems to be obscurely admitted in 2 K. iii. 27. This deliverance of Moab and the subsequent public enterprises of Mesha which the stone records prepared the way for that long career of prosperity which contemporary and later Hebrew prophets recognize as enjoyed by them. (See Is. xv., xvi.; Jer. xlviii.; Dan. xi. 41; Am. ii. 1, 2.)

The following proper names are found both on the monument and in the Hebrew Scriptures: Mesha, Moab, Chamos or Chemos (national god of the Moabites), Omri, Kirjath, Israel, Medeba, Jahveh or Jehovah, Boroz or Bozreh, Kirjathaim, Gad, Ataroth, Sereth or Seban(?), Nebo, Ashtor, or Shemosh, David, Jatar, Dibon, Aroer, Arnon, Beth-Bamoth or Bamoth Bezer, Gamul, Beth-Diblathaim, and conjecturally some others.

These names both of persons and places common to the stone and the Hebrew history supplement and illustrate the two records, and show at the same time their independence of each other by the slight variations and obscurities which they reveal.

We may add further that the discovery of this stone confirms the passages of Scripture (1 Sam. vii. 12; xv. 12, and 2 Sam. viii. 13)¹ which imply that the Hebrews, like the Egyptians and

¹ In two of the passages the A. V. does not suggest the right meaning. In 1 Sam. xv. 12, it should be, "Set up a pillar or trophy, instead of 'place'" (see First, *Hebr. Lex.* p. 539); and in 2 Sam. viii. 13, it should be "Set up a name, or monument," and not "gat him a

Assyrians, erected stones for commemorative purposes.¹ It encourages the hope that by perseverance, other similar discoveries may be made; it justifies the attempts made at the present time, by the Exploration Societies of England and of this country, to rescue as soon as possible from Arab violence and the ravages of time any similar monuments of sacred interest (and such undoubtedly there are) in the lands of the Bible.²

name." In 1 Sam. vii. 12, the monumental stone "Ebenezer" (*stone of help*), was Samuel's recognition of Jehovah's interposition for him which he would perpetuate to all time.

¹ On the palæographic value of this inscription the reader may see Prof. G. Rawlinson, on "the Moabite Stone" (*Contemporary Review*, Aug. 1870, London), and Rev. W. Ward under "Writing" in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* iv. p. 3577 ff. (Amer. ed.), and *Bibl. Sacr.* art. iii. Oct. 1870.

² *Our Work in Palestine* (published by the *Exploration Fund*, Lond. 1872 and New York, 1873), states what their labors there have already accomplished, and what their plans and hopes are for the future.

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"Lo, the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations." NUM. xxiii. 9.



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THE SEPARATED NATION.

BY H. L. HASTINGS.

The most remarkable race that lives or ever has lived on earth, is the Jewish race; and the most wonderful national phenomenon of this or any other age is the perpetuated existence and past and present condition of the Jewish people.

With a history that antedates the authentic records of all other nations, and a literature more widely diffused than the literature of any other people; with an experience more wonderful than that of any other race; they stand as they have stood for thousands of years, a mystery which confounds the wisest, a problem which baffles the skill of the most astute.

While infidels are sneering at the "mistakes of Moses," that people who are indebted to the laws of Moses for more than thirty centuries of national existence,—about three fourths of which has been spent in captivity or in exile,—after enduring for nearly two thousand years such persecution, spoliation, and privation, as no other nation ever endured; after having been scattered, slaughtered, hunted, hated, banished, wronged, and robbed through successive generations; remaining without a temple, sacrifice, altar, priest, or prince; having no city, country, or legal place of residence which they could call

their own;—have yet outlived the tyrants who conquered them, and the nations which oppressed them; and to-day, notwithstanding all the outrages, infamies, and disabilities to which they have been subjected, are probably not only more numerous, wealthy, learned, and influential than at any period of their existence, but are, nationally considered, the purest blooded, the most healthful, sober, temperate, moral, independent, and progressive race on the earth, in proportion to their numbers and their opportunities.

The total number of Jews is only approximately known. No census has ever furnished complete statistics concerning them. They are scattered beyond the reach of enrolling officers. Basnage, in 1706, set their numbers at about three millions.* The low estimate of the Berlin "Society for the Propagation of Christianity among the Jews" places the present number at six or seven millions, which is about what Israel numbered in the time of David. An estimate compiled by the German ethnologist, Richard Andell, and published in 1881, gave 5,166,326 Jews in Europe, 402,996 in Africa, 182,847 in Asia, 307,963 in America, 20,000 in Australia, or 6,080,132 in the world, exclusive of some 250,000 Falashas, or Abyssinian Jews, the descendants of Jewish exiles who took African wives. According to Herzog's *Real Encyclopædia*, the whole number of Jews at present scattered abroad is to be reckoned at not less than twelve millions.

This estimate, however, large as it is, does not fully represent the number of the Jewish race. The first founders of the church of Christ, and the earliest Christians, were *all Jews*. The three thousand that believed on the day of Pentecost, and the five thousand that soon after were numbered as disciples, and the "great multitude of priests that were obedient to the faith" (Acts ii.

* *History of the Jews*. B. vii. c. xxxiii. § 15. London, 1708.

41; and vi. 7), were all Jews. The earliest preaching places of the apostles were the Jewish synagogues, and the gospel which was preached "to the Jew first and also to the Greek" gathered in multitudes of Jews in all parts of the world.

Until the persecution by Jewish leaders made it impossible, the Christians still worshiped in the temple, and retained the privileges of their Jewish nationality; and though when Jerusalem was destroyed and the Jewish nation broken up and scattered, those who had embraced Christianity were no longer regarded as Jews, they *were* still of the same Jewish blood, and their blood, mingled with the blood of other peoples, still exercised its commanding influence upon the human family.

In the long dispersion of the Jews among the nations, vast numbers have been scattered and separated from Jewish communities. As a consequence they have intermarried with other peoples, and so a strain of Jewish blood has passed through the different races of the earth. Where Jewish communities could be kept together, they have intermarried, and maintained a separate existence; but a solitary Jew, in exile or captivity, in the midst of a Gentile community, would naturally affiliate with the people around him; so while communities of Jews are found in every quarter of the world, a large Jewish element has doubtless entered unnoticed into the life of all civilized nations. Besides, large numbers of Jews have at different times become nominally Christians. In some cases under the pressure of persecution Jews have concealed their faith; at other times their children have been taken from them and trained up under Gentile influences; and in still other instances, Jews have become convinced of the truth of Christianity, bringing with them into the Christian church and community their native characteristics and their racial energy. Hence the Jewish

physiognomy,—so unchangeable that we recognize the Jewish profile among the brick-makers whose faces are painted upon the ancient tombs of Beni-Hassan in Egypt,*—may still be seen throughout Christendom, among families who make no claim to Jewish nationality, but whose names and features often clearly indicate their Jewish extraction.

Nor should we entirely overlook those bodies of people found in every quarter of the earth, who, in consequence of resemblances in features, customs, language, traditions, and religion, have with more or less probability or certainty been identified as being descended from bands of Jewish exiles, or from the ten “Lost Tribes” of the earlier captivity. Among these may be mentioned the Jewish negroes of Central Africa, the black Jews of the coast of Malabar, the Afghans, the Nestorians of Persia, some of the North American Indians, and, in the opinion of some students, portions, at least, of the Anglo-Saxon race. Taking all these peoples into account, it would not be surprising if from forty to eighty millions of the human family may be lineally connected with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, through whose seed all the families of the earth were to be blessed.

But we need not search for faint and uncertain traces of Israelitish blood flowing amid the seething tides of Gentile population; for the Jews are ever before our eyes, on our right hand and on our left. And with their history, their religion, their physiognomy, and their energy, they stand a visible phenomenon well worthy of our most careful consideration. Let us therefore glance at some of the peculiarities of this wonderful people which, after more than seventeen hundred years of poverty, oppression, dispersion, and persecution, are now bursting the bands

**Literary Gazette*, No. 943, p. 99. *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. xxxiii. p. 318.
See A. Keith's *Demonstration of the Truth of the Christian Religion*, sec. ii. p. 110.
See Rosellini, *Monumenta dell'Egitto e della Nubia*, Plate xlix. Pisa, 1832.

that have bound them, and are coming into a position of unparalleled prominence and importance.

In surveying this imperishable nation, which like the burning bush on Horeb seems to flourish amid the devouring flames, we may notice several marked peculiarities which distinguish the Jews from all other peoples; among which we may mention:

- I. *Jewish vitality, fecundity, and longevity.*
- II. *The superior character of Jewish social life.*
- III. *Jewish educational and intellectual characteristics.*
- IV. *Jewish finance and statesmanship.*

In a brief review of the characteristics of this remarkable people, it is proper to commence with the physical element, and consider

I. JEWISH VITALITY, FECUNDITY, AND LONGEVITY.

The physical energies of the Jewish race have been severely tested by oppressions and privations, by exclusion from agricultural pursuits, by exposure to every variety of climate and condition, by being herded together in the purlieus of densely crowded cities; but they have endured the test, and though we find among them no athletes, or men of unusual stature, strength, and vigor, yet in respect of health, endurance, and longevity, they are far in advance of the people of any other nation. This is not due entirely to racial vigor, for there are communities of Christian people, which, numbered apart from their irreligious neighbors, show a better average of life than the Jews themselves; but these are also people who have read the law of Moses, and who live in some general conformity to its precepts, and have also been illuminated by the Spirit of God, and have embraced the gospel as proclaimed by Jesus Christ.

Many Jews who retain their national customs are doubtless ignorant of that inward spiritual life which comes to those who are in personal communion with the Father of spirits. This bestowment of the Spirit of God, which inspired the heroes, prophets, and saints of by-gone ages, ministers not only to the moral but to the physical health and upbuilding of men. But since, the Jews as a people lay no special claim to the possession of this spiritual endowment, the superior physical vigor of the Jewish people as a whole is to be attributed not so much to their spiritual life and personal faith in God, as to the observance of those *sanitary rules* and regulations enjoined in the Mosaic law. What might have been the condition of the Jewish people, if, in addition to the benefit of these laws, the Spirit of God which rested upon the ancient prophets had abode upon them, filling each Israelite with quickening power! But of this power many sons of Israel know very little. The promise in Joel, "I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh," is beyond their experience. And even that "law of the Lord" which "is perfect, converting the soul," is too often buried beneath a mass of unimportant traditions, and fails to work in their hearts that renewing of mind, without which man never regains the likeness to his Creator which was lost by sin and disobedience.

A Jew does not lose his nationality even if he in heart abandons the faith of his fathers. So long as he conforms to the Mosaic law he receives the benefits which that law confers. If we, therefore, consider the Jews purely from the standpoint of physical health, without regard to religious considerations, we shall find that the various sanitary provisions and regulations of the Mosaic law have made them, for centuries, the most healthful people on the globe. In 1348, when the black death was raging throughout Europe, the Jews were

exempt from the plague. And because they would not die off like good Christians, they were accused of poisoning their neighbors' wells, and were murdered for the calamities which afflicted the people around them.

No language can describe the infernal barbarities of the plague-stricken and frenzied populace, who persecuted the Jews on this account. In September and October, 1348, at Chillon on Lake Geneva, and in other places, under inhuman tortures, Jews were made to confess themselves guilty of the crime imputed to them, and then the most horrible persecutions followed. Throughout Germany Jews were burned or banished. At Spire, driven to despair, they assembled in their own houses, set them on fire, and consumed themselves with their families. At Strasburg, two thousand Jews were burned alive in their own burial ground. At Mayence, twelve thousand Jews were put to cruel deaths. At Eslingen, the whole Jewish community burned themselves in their synagogue; and though Pope Clement VI., the Emperor Charles IV., Duke Albert of Austria, and other potentates, endeavored to protect the ill-fated race, yet the slaughter was widespread and terrible. But though thus persecuted, the Jews have held fast their law, learning from it those lessons of cleanliness and health which have made them a race of exceptional and wonderful vitality, fecundity, and longevity.

The power of the Jews to resist contagious diseases is most remarkable. The last time the cholera swept through London, it is reported that only one Jew fell a victim to the disease, and at Naples the number of Jews who died of cholera during the epidemic of 1884 was very small. At Toulon, it is said that but two orthodox Jews died of cholera, though one-fifth of the population were Jewish. Of the seven Jews who died of cholera at Marseilles, five,

writes Rabbi Meyle, did not live in accordance with Jewish precepts in the matter of food and hygiene, while of the two others, a father and son, the first, a hospital nurse, fell a victim to duty, and the other sacrificed his life to filial love by staying to nurse his father.

Those immoral diseases which deteriorate and destroy Gentile populations do not prevail among the Jews; and while the vices and abominations which are sent forth from professedly Christian countries, blast the lives of the heathen with whom they come in contact, so that even Christianity does not save them from extinction, the Jewish people, exposed to every kind of contaminating influence, and guarded only by the Mosaic law, still have maintained their existence, enduring such burdens as no other nation could have borne.

The Jews are especially susceptible to skin diseases, which is another way of saying that their natural forces throw disease to the surface, instead of allowing it to burrow in the vital organs, and there work speedy dissolution. But from diseases of the vital organs, the Hebrew people are remarkably free, and their death-rate is consequently low.

JEWISH BIRTH AND DEATH RATES.

From the days when Pharaoh feared they would outnumber his own population, the children of Israel have been the most prolific and long-lived race that can be named, and they still exhibit these ancient characteristics.

It is certain that the number of births among the Jews is greater in proportion than among the Gentiles. Trustworthy statistics show that while among Gentiles the annual number of births is *thirty-eight to each thousand* of the population, among Jews the births average *fifty-five per thousand*. Among one hundred thousand Gentile births, one hundred and forty-three are still-born; among

the same number of Jewish births only eighty-nine are still-born. To this may be added the fact that among Jews the proportion of the *stronger sex* is about *twelve per cent greater* than that of females, instead of being only *five per cent greater*, as among Gentiles; thus providing for the more numerous casualties to which males are subject, and preventing that alarming excess of the weaker sex which in Europe is said to amount to more than four and one half millions, (4,579,000) and which in corrupt and densely populated communities becomes an element of evil and immorality, and a source of positive danger to the common weal.*

Early in the present century, when Benjamin Gompertz, a brother-in-law of Moses Montefiore, sought the position of actuary to the Guardian Insurance Company, in London, he failed to obtain it, it was whispered, because he was a Jew. This circumstance led to the formation of the Alliance Insurance Company, in which Montefiore, the Rothschilds, and other Israelites were interested. "Curiously enough, the strong Jewish character of the new office became an important element in its success. It had not then been ascertained that the Jews enjoyed a greater longevity than other races, and their lives were consequently insured at rates determined by the ordinary actuarial calculations. Some fifteen years later, Hoffmann of Berlin, and Bernouilli of Basle, commenced the celebrated studies in vital statistics which have since proved that Jewish lives are on an average nearly *fifty per cent more valuable than those of any other known people.*"†

* The theories by which learned Jewish writers seek to account for the excess of males born among them, may be learned from the rabbinical writings. See the *Talmud*, *Gen. Nida* 31 A.; also B.B. 127 A., and *Midrash* to Lev. xii. 2.; Gen. xxii. 24. See also Rashi, Aben Ezra, Rambam, etc. We have mentioned what we regard as the *true* reason in *The Wonderful Law*; pp. 87-94.

† *Life of Sir Moses Montefiore*. By LUCIEN WOLF. Chapter ii. p. 8.

The statistics of Frankfort, Germany, indicate that between the years 1846 and 1858, one quarter of all the Gentile children born died before they had reached the age of *six years and eleven months*; while an equal proportion of Jews did not die until they had reached the age of *twenty-eight years and three months*. Half of the Gentiles born died before the expiration of thirty-six years and six months, while half of the Jews did not die before the expiration of fifty-three years. Three quarters of the Gentiles died before their sixtieth year, while of the Jews, a quarter were still living at the age of seventy-one.

Neufville found as a result of his investigations, that in Frankfort Jews lived an average of eleven years longer than the Gentiles around them, and that the proportion of those who reached the age of seventy years, was thirteen Gentiles to twenty-seven Jews. In the town of Fürth, according to Meyer, the average duration of Gentile life was only 26 years. During the first five years of childhood the Gentile death-rate was fourteen per cent., the Jewish death-rate ten per cent.

In his *Diseases of Modern Life*, Dr. Richardson, after referring to the sufferings of the Jewish people, remarks "For some cause, or causes, the Jewish race presents an endurance against disease that does not belong to other portions of the civilized communities amongst which its members dwell." Dr. Gibbon, a London health officer, reports that whatever may be the cause, there is no doubt but that the life of a Jew in London is on an average twice as long as that of a Gentile. The Hebrews are notoriously exempt from tubercular and scrofulous diseases, and pulmonary consumption is rarely known among them. The medical officer of one of their large schools has remarked that the children do not die in anything like the same ratio as Gentile children, and in the district of

Whitechapel the medical health officer in his report says, that on the north side of High street, occupied by the Jews, the average death rate is 28 per thousand, while on the south side, occupied by English and Irish, it is 43 per thousand.

Crebassa is quoted by Dr. R. K. Picard, in the *Leisure Hour*, as giving the following statistics concerning the town of Algiers: In 1856, among the Europeans there were 1234 births, and 1553 deaths. Of Mussulmans, 331 births, and 514 deaths. Of Jews there were 211 births, and 187 deaths.* Of course, in any country where this ratio was preserved, the Jews would increase and flourish, while the other peoples would gradually become extinct.

From statistics published in a Warsaw journal, it appears that the Jewish population in Poland increased from about 212,000 in 1816, to 820,000 in 1882. During the same period the entire population increased from 2,732,000 to nearly six millions. In Warsaw there are said to reside 127,000 Jews, out of a total population of 370,000 inhabitants.

Prussian ecclesiastical records show that from 1823 to 1841 the average of deaths among the Gentiles was one in thirty-four; among the Jews, one in forty-six. Twenty per cent. of the Jews reach the age of seventy, only twelve per cent. of the Gentiles. During the fifty years between 1817 and 1867, the population of Prussia increased ninety-one per cent., while the increase of the Jewish population was one hundred and twelve per cent. In Austrian Galicia, in the fifty years from 1820 to 1870, the ordinary population increased twenty-five per cent., while the Jewish population increased one hundred and fifty per cent.

Other countries afford similar statistics, and the facts

* See *Library Magazine*, May, 1885.

are indisputable. The learned French physician, Dr. Levy, concluded that the average term of life among the Gentiles was twenty-six years, among the Jews, thirty-seven years, and Prof. Virchow, the famous German scientist, in an address at the funeral of Ludwig Loewe, an eminent Israelite, said: "We know that the Jewish race has at all times been distinguished by great tenacity of life, which has enabled it to reach advanced degrees of age."

"The eminent medical authority, Professor Botkin, of St. Petersburg, at one of his recent lectures said, he had observed that Jews suffering from consumption lived *far longer than had been anticipated from the prognostications of their medical advisers*. He had often asked the reason for this phenomenon, without receiving a conclusive reply ; but in his own mind he believed that in the constitution of the followers of Judaism there was present an element which enabled them to withstand the ravages of consumption much longer than persons professing other creeds. In connection with this subject it may be mentioned that Palestine stands among the first rank of those countries the air of which is an excellent cure for consumption. This fell disease is of very rare occurrence in the Holy Land, and many who have arrived there with its germs in their constitution have left the country completely restored to health."*

Dr. Madison Marsh, after an extended correspondence with some of the most learned and distinguished Jews in the United States, says, "From all quarters comes the same reply, not that the Jews *never* have consumption, but that the disease is *very rare among them*."†

But this disease is *not* rare among Gentiles. Why this

* *Jewish Chronicle*, 1886.

† *Medical and Surgical Reporter*, April 11, 1874.

difference? It is not on account of climate, for the Jew thrives in all climates. Is it not on account of his obedience to a *divine law*, given by One who knows man's frame, and who has a Creator's interest in the welfare of his creatures?

It is well known that among Gentile nations, consumption is one of the most frequent and most fatal of diseases. This can doubtless be attributed in part to the exhaustion of vital force through sensual excesses, against which the Mosaic law so carefully guards those who observe it. But one of the most manifest causes of the wide prevalence of bronchial and pulmonary diseases is the general custom of removing from the face and throat of that covering which the Creator provided for the protection of man's vocal organs, and which the law of Moses strictly forbade him to meddle with.* And just where man, in disregard of the divine law, scrapes his face with a razor day after day and year after year, just there death takes him by the throat, and drags him down to the grave.

The Mosaic laws concerning food doubtless have much to do with Jewish health and longevity. The use of blood as food was forbidden in the great primary law given to Noah, when flesh was first permitted to be eaten. It is well understood that the blood, "which is the life," is also the chief seat of most diseases. Hence the propriety of this prohibition. But in addition to this, all flesh, before it is eaten by a Jew, must be examined and pronounced "*kosher*," or wholesome, by the "*shochet*," or *killer*, appointed for that purpose. Then certain animals are utterly rejected at the outset, as swine, and other unclean brutes; and so long as it is sometimes found necessary to kill a dozen pigs before a pair of sound lungs can be found, can it be counted strange that consumption is so prevalent and so fatal among eaters of swine's flesh?

* Levit. xix. 27; xxi. 5.

Under Jewish usages, when beasts are slaughtered for food the lungs are carefully examined by the *shochet*, and if any tokens of adhesion or disease are observed, the lungs are placed in a vessel of water; and if bubbles arise, indicating the slightest defect in the lungs which allows the air to escape into the water, the carcass is at once condemned as diseased, and unclean, and turned over to the Gentiles.

Any person who has observed the slaughter of beasts will remember instances and indications of ulceration and other forms of disease about the liver and other internal parts. These would exclude all such flesh from the dietary of the Jews. In a report made to the Jewish authorities, and quoted by Dr. Picard, the following figures occurred. Oxen slain, 12,473; *kosher*, or fit to be eaten, 7649. Calves slain, 2146; *kosher*, 1569. Sheep slain, 23,022; *kosher*, 14,580.

Thus *fourteen* out of *thirty-seven*, or more than *one-third* of the beasts slain, were *rejected* as *unsound*, and not allowed to be eaten by the Jews; while in the Gentile markets *all this condemned meat would have been eaten*; and in addition to this, swine and other beasts filled with parasites are eaten without hesitancy among Gentiles, but are utterly rejected by Jews, who thus are exempt from tubercular and other diseases, many of which are doubtless contracted by eating pork and other unclean and diseased meats. Recent experiments have clearly shown that those lumps which occur in what is called "measly pork" are simply *tape-worms* waiting for some human being to devour them, when they proceed to develop their hideous growth within the human body. To these may be added the horrors of *trichiniasis*, and numerous other ailments which Gentiles suffer and Jews escape.

We cannot, therefore, attribute Jewish longevity

entirely to racial energy. We have not, it is true, statistics which would afford us the means of instituting an accurate comparison between the longevity of Jews and that of real Christians. The comparisons instituted are between Jews and Gentiles; and the Gentiles comprise not merely true Christians, but whole multitudes of rationalistic, deistic, atheistic, pork-eating, whiskey-drinking, beer-loving, tobacco-smoking sots and sinners of every grade and class. If comparison could be instituted between *true* Christians and Jews, it would doubtless appear that, though Christians by their inattention to Mosaic sanitary laws greatly abridge their lives, yet through their observance of the precepts of the gospel, and the truths contained in the Scriptures, they are not greatly inferior in longevity to the Jews.

The statistics of the members of the society of Friends, who perhaps as fully as any community exemplify the principles of the Christian religion, show that they live longer even than do the Jews. In Great Britain, out of a membership of 18,000 persons, in the year 1843-4 there occurred 342 deaths, and the average age of those who died was 50 years and nine months, which was probably about twice the average age at death of the population generally. This illustrates the results of sober, temperate, Christian living. And a more remarkable fact is developed, that forty years later, in the year 1883-4, after the society of Friends, always "temperate," had become practically a body of total abstainers, there were among them 280 deaths, and the average age of the persons who died was 60 *years*, 10 months, and 28 days, an increase within forty years, of *more than ten years* in the average age at which members of the society died.

It may also be noted that in Great Britain, the average death-rate among ministers of the gospel is only about *half* the general average of deaths among the entire

population, and only about a third or a quarter as great as the deaths among people who are engaged in producing or trafficking in intoxicating liquors.

These facts indicate clearly that the Jewish longevity is not so much due to the healthfulness of ancestors or the vigor of native stock, as to the constant observance of precepts and commandments which tend to foster human life, and prevent disease and death.

The sanitary precepts of the Mosaic law, imbedded in the minds of the Israelitish nation, especially qualified them for the practice of the healing art; and in the dark ages, when superstition abhorred medical science, and the diseased turned for health to patron saints, sacred relics, virgin's aprons, and dead men's bones; when physicians were counted atheists, and it was held a crime for a patient to seek assistance from a Jew; then a large proportion of the leading physicians were from the Jewish race. The common people might seek relief from bones and relics, but popes and potentates, princes and emperors, were glad to welcome the aid of the Jewish physicians, who not only relieved their maladies, but had great influence among them on account of their wide acquaintance with theology, literature, and science.

Thus during the dark ages there were in France famous medical schools, one at Narbonne, presided over by Rabbi Abou; another school was established at Arles; and the famous college of Montpellier was under the regency of the great Profatius, eminent both as an astronomer and a physician. There was also Rashi (1040-1105), the greatest French physician and surgeon of the eleventh century, and the learned Aben Tibbon (1160-1230), distinguished for his knowledge of medical botany, and his proficiency in the art of preparing medicine.

Spain numbers among her physicians Aben Ezra (1093-1167), one of the most noted writers of his day, and still more eminent, Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), the "eagle of the doctors," the most famous physician of his age; body physician of the great sultan Saladin; who was summoned for consultation to the sick bed of Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England; and who, exploring the medical literature of the Greeks, Latins, Hebrews, and Arabs, and reproducing, abridging and publishing it, brought its treasures to illuminate the gloom of the dark ages. To these may be added, Avenzoar, or Abenzoar, physician of the court of Seville, in the beginning of the 12th century, whose Canon of Medicine gave him wide reputation as a medical authority in European universities for centuries. He was the author of more than a hundred treatises, and stood first among hundreds of medical writers; and next to him might be named Avicena (980-1037), whose works on preparing medicines, diet, leprosy, fever, etc., were noteworthy in their day.

It is well known that the present century has witnessed an entire revolution in the theory and practice of medicine. Fifty years ago a physician when called to a patient, tied a cord around his arm and drew out his life-blood, and then proceeded to dose him with drugs, and poisons, and abominations of various kinds. If the man recovered it was attributed to the skill of the physician, if he died it was a mysterious dispensation of providence. If he lingered along, broken in health, and crippled and deformed, no one thought of blaming the man who drugged and poisoned him, since all was done according to the recognized rules and canons of the medical profession. All this is now changed. Poisons are discarded, or so reduced in quantity as to be comparatively innocuous.

The administration of drugs has been diminished to a minimum. Physicians no longer draw out the life-blood of their patients; but great attention is paid to diet, nursing, isolation, mental conditions, and hygienic observances. All these changes are in a line with the prescriptions of the Mosaic law. It was Moses who taught that "the life is in the blood," though it was ages before physicians learned to believe it. It was Moses who gave such rigid precepts concerning diet, bathing, disinfection, and sanitary science. The animals which he excluded from his dietary are precisely those which are specially liable to parasites, as swine, rabbits, hares, etc., and in proscribing the use of the blood, and requiring the burning of the fat, he was only prohibiting what is especially liable to be the means of communicating disease. The recent discoveries of microscopy which show that the air is filled with living germs, causing fermentation, decay, and disease, was long ago anticipated by the law of Moses, which declared that in any tent where a death had occurred, "*Every open vessel which hath no covering bound upon it is unclean.*" Num. xix. 5. In fact whenever scientific knowledge reaches a firm and settled basis, it finds itself occupying the very position held by the law of Moses thirty centuries ago.

II. JEWISH SOCIAL LIFE.

The social characteristics of the Jews are quite as worthy of attention as their other peculiarities. There are some nations noted for their pugilism, but who ever hears of a Jewish pugilist? There are others noted for mobs and quarrels, but who in these times hears of a Jewish mob or fight? There are races who are ready upon the slightest provocation to fight a duel, and others who carry knives and daggers which they use with great

freedom and facility; but they are not Jews. There are men of certain nationalities who contribute largely to swell the tide of pauperism and crime, and who fill our streets with beggars, our almshouses with paupers, and our prisons and reformatories with criminals; but none of these classes are recruited from the ranks of the Jews.

In Great Britain it has been asserted on good authority that one person in eleven is a criminal, a drunkard, a pauper, or a lunatic. How different in this respect the record of the Jews. Regarding their law-abiding character, a leading Massachusetts judge declared that in more than forty years' experience at the bar and on the bench, he had never had a Jew before him as a criminal. Gen. B. F. Butler stated publicly that in thirty-nine years' experience in criminal courts, he had never had a Jewish client, nor seen a Jew charged with crime. It is said that the United States Government had been in existence a hundred years before a Jew was convicted of murder within its territory. The law of God, thundered from Sinai, and plowed into the hearts and flowing in the blood of the children of Israel, whose fathers witnessed the manifestation of Deity upon the Mount, and listened to the Ten Words which He spake, has preserved them from many of the crimes and iniquities of which men of other nationalities are so often guilty. Of course Jews are sometimes brought within the meshes of the law for dishonest and fraudulent transactions, but such occurrences are rare. And persons who keep the law of Moses keep nearly all the other laws that are worth keeping.

Jews are as rare in almshouses as they are in prisons. Judge C. P. Daly of New York remarked that in the course of his legal and judicial career he had never come across a single instance in which an aged and impoverished Hebrew had been supported by the public authorities; and it

has been asserted by those who profess to know, that in the city of New York no Hebrew has ever been buried in the Potter's Field.

The Israelites were originally a nation of agriculturists. The system of government ordained in the wilderness transformed a multitude of escaped bondmen into an orderly nation of land-owners and husbandmen. Every man was his own landlord. The homesteads were inalienable, and it was the privilege of each of the children of Israel to sit under his own vine and fig-tree, with none to molest him or make him afraid. The oppressions which they have endured during the period of their dispersion have tended to withdraw them from agricultural pursuits. Outlawed, banished, forbidden to acquire land, destitute of local habitation, and subjected to all manner of extortions and oppressions; they have been under the necessity of secreting their wealth, and holding their possessions in such a form as might enable them best to avoid the rapacity of their oppressors, either by concealment or flight. The isolation of the Jews from other peoples, and the poverty and squalor in which they have often been forced to live among the crowded populations of the old world, have naturally prepared them to content themselves with the smallest and most meager accommodations, and have tended to keep them away from agricultural communities, and herd them together in certain portions of the great cities where they could enjoy the help and sympathy of their co-religionists, and conform in worship and manner of life to the requirements of their national law. Such densely populated districts naturally become the hot-beds of vice and intemperance and pollution: but this is not the case in localities occupied by Jews. It has been stated that among the ten thousand liquor shops of New York, no Jewish bar-tender or rum-seller could be

found. This is doubtless an extreme statement. There are renegade Jews who may be capable of selling strong drink: but as a rule, though not total abstainers, the Jewish people are not addicted to the excessive use of strong drink, and in America are not often concerned in the traffic.

A Berlin paper however says, that "more than a sixth part of the Jews in Russia live by means of the liquor trade, as is admitted by the Jews themselves. The same is true of the Jews in Roumania and all the Slavic lands. With the liquor trade usually goes everything. The possessors of the soil cultivate it for the Jews to whom they have mortgaged their estates for their liquor debts."

This doubtless accounts for much of the hatred of the populace against the Jews. It must be remembered however, that public sentiment on the liquor question in Europe is far below the American standard. And in America, though some Jews are concerned in the wholesale liquor business, very few of them engage in the accursed traffic.

There lies before me a map of a territory in New York City, lying east of the Bowery, and bounded by Norfolk, Broome, and Division streets. This territory, less than a mile square, and largely inhabited by Germans, contains one hundred and seventy-six lager-beer saloons, and seventy-six rum-shops. In one part of this district is a settlement of Polish Jews, known as Jewtown, extending from a point west of Ludlow Street to a point beyond Essex Street, and reaching on these streets nearly a block north and south of Hester Street. On some of the blocks described on this map there are from ten to twenty rum-shops and lager-beer saloons, but though Jewtown is crowded with people, and is filled with all kinds of trafficking and merchandise, yet in the words of

the *New York Tribune*, "The only occupation that does not thrive is that of the liquor-seller. There are, to be sure, three or four beer-shops, but they are deserted, save two at the corner, and not a drunken person is seen. Order and sobriety are the two distinguishing traits of this Babel of human beings."

This description applies to a region especially noted as overcrowded and unhealthy. Yet the Jewish population give such attention to the sanitary laws of Moses, that they exist in the midst of such poverty and exposure as other populations could hardly survive. And their temperate habits preserve them not only from disease but from crime.

A writer in the *Times* describing the Penal Colonies of Holland, which are a kind of agricultural prison for beggars, drunkards, and others, says: The Jews are not "committed in any number to the Penal Colonies. The Director at Ommerschaus remarked that there is only one Jew there now. Being asked the reason, he replied, 'It is the drink that brings most of the people here, both the beggars and the drunkards. But the Jews are a temperate people, therefore they rarely come here.'"

Socially considered, the Jewish people may be regarded as orderly, law-abiding, frugal, diligent, peaceable, temperate, self-supporting; working in such paths of honest industry as are open before them, and wherever they have had anything like fair and kindly treatment, they have not failed to merit and win the respect of those among whom they have dwelt. Of course oppression, robbery, outrage, and wrong, could not fail to develop the unlovely traits of character in any people; but there is no evidence that in these respects Jews would suffer by comparison with the people among whom they have dwelt.

When in 1492 Ferdinand expelled the Jews from Spain,

the foremost magistrates and officials of the island of Sicily, then a Spanish province, interfered and protested against this cruelty. They said, "A difficulty arises from the circumstance that in this island almost all the handicraftsmen are Jews. If then, all depart at once, there will be a want of workmen for the Christians, especially of workmen able to carry on the iron industry, the shoeing of horses, the manufacture of farming tools, and the making of vehicles, of ships, and of galleys."* Their plea was in vain, and the terrible decree of expatriation was speedily enforced. The Jewish race went forth into banishment; and the Sicilian people, with whom the Jews had lived for centuries, stood dumb, astonished, weeping upon the city walls, the galleries, and the roofs of the neighboring buildings, to exchange the last sad greeting as their neighbors and friends, the banished Israelites, abandoned the land where for so many successive generations their forefathers had lived and died and been buried.

Can we wonder that the Jews refused to embrace a religion the representatives of which instigated and committed such crimes and barbarities? But this religion was not the religion of a Jesus of Nazareth who had compassion on the multitude when he saw them as sheep without a shepherd; nor was it the religion of Paul, who had great heaviness and continual sorrow of heart for his brethren and kinsman according to the flesh. The religion that persecutes men is not Christianity, and though the rulers of so-called Christendom were far in advance of heathen nations that had never heard of the gospel, they had yet to learn the doctrine that Jesus of Nazareth taught. The same blood-thirsty fanatics and tyrants who persecuted and banished the Israelites,

* LA LUMIA: *The Sicilian Hebrews*, quoted by Gudemann, p. 291.

imprisoned and tortured the true Christians, burning both the writings of the Jewish prophets and the Jewish apostles; and thus a spurious Christianity, caused the name of Christ to be blasphemed among both Jews and heathen. In the language of an eloquent statesman of Jewish lineage: "It is, no doubt, to be deplored that seven millions of the Jewish race should persist in believing only a part of their religion; but this is largely owing to the nature of the persecution they received. When the great mass of the Jews, scattered throughout the world, first ever heard of Christianity, it appeared to be a Gentile religion, accompanied by idolatrous practices. And afterwards, when Romans and Spaniards were converted to Christianity, all that the Jews in those nations knew of Christianity was, that it was a religion of fire and sword, and that one of its first duties was to avenge some mysterious and inexplicable crime which had been committed years ago by some unheard-of ancestors of theirs in an unknown land. These people had never heard of Christ. What they heard from their savage companions, and the Italian priesthood which acted on them, was that there was good tidings for all the world except Israel; and that Israel, for the commission of a great crime of which they had never heard, and could not comprehend, was to be plundered, massacred, hewn to pieces, and burnt alive in the name of Christ and for the sake of Christianity. Is it, therefore, wonderful that a great portion of the Jewish race should not believe in the most important portion of the Jewish religion?"

Prejudice can only awaken prejudice; hate can only beget hatred; injustice can only produce a sense of wrong and outrage. And all these feelings hinder calm consideration, and lead to wrong conclusions. Love begets

love, and, enduring all things, overcomes evil with good ; and in this spirit men most successfully lead both Jews and Gentiles to know the truth.

Though the Jews have suffered in consequence of their rejection of the Messiah, yet an apostle was ready to say in their behalf: "I know that ye did it ignorantly brethren, because of unbelief." For though the rulers and leaders of the Jews were responsible for the death of the prophet of Nazareth, yet it was by no means the act of the entire nation, much less of all their descendants. The common people heard Him gladly. The multitude desired to take him by force and make him king. His enemies did not dare to arrest him publicly for fear of the people; and though he was daily in the temple, no man laid hands on him. It was only through the treachery of his own disciple that they were able to arrest him at midnight, and after a hurried and illegal trial, during which the mob were persuaded to clamor for his blood, by nine o'clock the next morning he was crucified upon a Roman cross.

It is related that when Sir Moses Montefiore was in parliament, a political opponent taunted him with the memory of Calvary, and described him as one who sprang from the murderers who crucified the world's Redeemer. The next morning the Jewish philanthropist, whom Christendom has learned to honor, called upon his assailant, and showed him the record of his ancestors which had been kept for *two thousand years*, and which showed that their home had been in Spain for two hundred years before Jesus of Nazareth was born!

The day of Pentecost found devout men dwelling in Jerusalem out of every nation under heaven, and the three thousand who believed in a single day, and the great multitude of priests who were obedient to the

faith, in all probability largely outnumbered the men who plotted Christ's arrest and clamored for his blood. Out of the very heart of the Jewish nation sprang the Christian church. The gospel of Christ was preached "to the Jew first," "beginning at Jerusalem." The Temple and the Synagogues were the first preaching places, devout Jews were the earliest converts to Christianity; and wherever, instead of being subjected to unchristian persecutions, Jews have been made acquainted with the gospel Jesus of Nazareth preached, there have not been lacking converts who have embraced the precious faith of a crucified and risen Messiah. And the work still goes on. And though the hosts of Israel are now separated from Him by the influence of prejudice and persecution, yet when these obstacles are removed, surely there can be nothing very repugnant to the feelings of an Israelite to learn that through Abraham's promised seed all the nations are now being blessed, according to the ancient covenant of God. In the language of the writer last quoted:

"Perhaps, in this enlightened age, as his mind expands, and he takes a comprehensive view of this period of progress, the pupil of Moses may ask himself, whether all the princes of the house of David have done so much for the Jews as the Prince who was crucified on Calvary. Had it not been for Him, the Jews would have been comparatively unknown, or known only as a high Oriental caste which had lost its country. Has not he made their history the most famous history in the world? Has not he hung up their laws in every temple? Has not he avenged the victims of Titus and conquered the Cæsars? What successes did they anticipate from their Messiah? The wildest dreams of their rabbins have been far exceeded. Has not Jesus conquered Europe and changed

its name into Christendom? All countries that refuse the Cross wither, while the whole of the new world is devoted to the Semitic principle and its most glorious offspring, the Jewish faith; and the time will come when the vast communities and countless myriads of America and Australia, looking upon Europe as Europe now looks upon Greece, and wondering how so small a place could have achieved such great deeds, will still find music in the songs of Zion, and still seek solace in the parables of Galilee."

Should such a day come, when the sons of Israel, looking with penitence on Him whom they have pierced, should recognize their own Messiah, and receive the blessings he is longing to bestow, then we might find the Jew no longer depressed, unsocial and despised, but so changed as to realize the fulfillment of that ancient prophecy: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts; In those days it shall come to pass, that ten men shall take hold out of all languages of the nations, even shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you: for we have heard that God is with you." Zech. viii. 23.

III. JEWISH INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

The mightiest *intellectual forces* which have ever entered the world, have come to us through the descendants of Abraham, and especially through the Jewish nation. The books that have had the widest circulation, and have exercised the mightiest influence over the human family have been written by men of this race. Their psalms have been sung on every shore; and the words which they have uttered, inspired by the Holy Spirit, have been themselves an inspiration unparalleled in the history of human literature. The writings of both the Old Testament and the New were almost entirely the

work of the sons of Israel, and the religions that have made progress in the world have been based upon them as a foundation, and derive their potency from the influences which have characterized this people and made them what they are.

As the highest office of intellect is to rise from the creation to the Creator, and to know Him who has made heaven and earth, the religious character of a nation becomes important in estimating its position in the scale of being. We may measure the character of a man by his conceptions of God. Judged by this rule, how low and base must have been the worshipers of graven images, brute beasts, and creeping things, as compared with that one nation which adored and worshiped the unseen, the eternal, the Almighty God of Abraham. And we cannot fail to be interested in the intellectual life of that people who so long ago learned that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the Holy is understanding.

The golden age of Israel's glory was before the days of Roman, Grecian, and Babylonian supremacy. Long before Socrates and Plato taught philosophy, or before Herodotus wrote history; in the dim ages of which Homer's *Illiad* preserves traditions and memorials; before all other authentic and circumstantial records, the nation of Israel was an organized, civilized, and well-established people, known in art, science, and navigation. They had literature before most nations had letters, and art while other nations knew only war and savagery.

Modern research has brought up from the dust and ruin of ages the records of the pride and grandeur of ancient Nineveh. The Scriptures tell us how that mighty empire poured its armies into the land of Israel, overrunning

the territory of Gad, Manasseh and Reuben, overthrowing Samaria, and carrying the ten tribes into captivity. The old Assyrian inscriptions tell us of 27,280 families that were led away captive from Samaria, and their Jewish faces are seen to-day sculptured upon the slabs that adorned the ruined palaces of Nineveh. Assyria was famed for her splendid sculptures, her magnificent buildings, her costly textile fabrics, dyed with colors which modern art fails to imitate or excel, her manufactures of iron, steel, copper, lead, glass and pottery, and her knowledge of mechanical devices and machinery; but it is believed that these things which so contributed to the glory of the Assyrian capital and empire, were the handiwork of the Jews. The Assyrian of that age was too proud to labor. There was no industry but that of bondmen, and the *captive Hebrews* were there doing work such as no other people were capable of doing. It is believed that the old Etruscan art of Italy came from Assyria, and that Grecian architecture was the outgrowth of the art that adorned the palaces of Assyria; and this was probably the work of the men who had seen the splendors of Samaria and Jerusalem, and the temple which was built under the guidance of divine wisdom, and according to the patterns of things in the heavens. Wilkins, the architect, in his essay on the Temple at Jerusalem, claims that the splendid buildings which crown the Acropolis, so different from the massive and gloomy structures of Babylon and Egypt, were suggested by the temple on Mount Zion; and Ruskin in his work on Modern Painters, says that the sacred chord of color, blue, purple, and scarlet, with gold and white, as appointed for the ancient tabernacle, is the fixed basis of all coloring and painting in every age.

Thus in the realms of ancient and modern art and

architecture, we meet again and again the influence of Jewish intelligence, inspired and illuminated by celestial light, leading the nations in the departments of art and beauty, and standing upon the highest ranges trodden by mortal man.

Assyria has perished ; Babylon is in heaps ; Rome has tottered and fallen ; but the Jew has outlived all his conquerors and persecutors, and walks unscathed amid the general wreck. And they can to-day trace their history by authentic documents back farther than any other people on the globe ; and can point to a roll of names which grow brighter in the light of advancing ages. Among them "there might be counted heroes and sages who need shrink from no rivalry with the brightest and wisest of other lands,—a lawgiver of the time of the Pharaohs, whose laws are still obeyed ; a monarch whose reign has ceased three thousand years, but whose wisdom is still a proverb in all the nations of the earth ; a teacher whose doctrines have modeled the whole civilized world. The greatest legislators, the greatest of administrators, the greatest of reformers—what other race, extinct or living, can produce such men as these?"* And though for eighteen centuries dispersed among all nations, their intellectual force is yet unspent. Their ancient prophets and apostles still rule us from their tombs, and their modern scholars do not suffer by comparison with those of any other nation.

Whatever may be thought or said of the Jewish race to-day as compared with other nations, for centuries this was the sole and solitary people who worshiped one God ; and the law of Moses was the only law which prohibited the debasing and obscene idolatries which cursed and defiled the world, and blasted the social, domestic, and

*Disraeli *Tancred*.

personal life of the nations round about them. And theirs is the only code of ancient laws which had in it the elements of endurance and perpetuity. Who cares to-day for the laws of the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, and the Greeks? To return to them would be barbarism, immorality, and crime. But the law that was thundered from Mount Sinai still stands above the highest level of any existing national life, and still the ancient challenge may be uttered, "What nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as *all this law*, which I set before you this day?" Deut. iv. 8. The laws of the heathen nations have sunk beneath contempt, while the essential provisions of the Mosaic law have entered into the jurisprudence of the civilized world. Upon this foundation of revealed law all human laws rest; and the laws under which we live are based upon these specific divine commandments, rather than upon the deductions of ethical theorists and teachers; and thus the laws given by Moses to-day have a sway far wider than they ever had in the palmiest days of Israel's nationality.

Popular education was a fundamental principle of Israelitish policy. One of the twelve tribes, the tribe of Levi, had no part in the inheritance of the land of Israel except houses and gardens, and were largely supported by the tithes of the other tribes, and were required to devote themselves to the service of God, the conduct of public worship, the cure of the sick, the exposition of the law, and the education of the people. The priest's lips were to keep knowledge, and men were to seek the law at his mouth. Once in seven years the entire law of Moses was to be publicly read before the assembled multitudes of Israel; and as this law was not repealed or altered from year to year, the knowledge of it must soon have become general. The law is divided by

the Jews into fifty-two sections, one of which was read in the synagogue each Sabbath day, followed by appropriate selections from other Hebrew Scriptures. Consequently the attendant at the Jewish synagogue heard the entire law read once every year. Then it was also commanded that the Israelites should commit the law to memory, and diligently teach it to their children. Deut. vi. 6-9. Thus by various methods the general education of the people in the principles of truth and righteousness was secured. There was in the Jewish nation no privileged class. There was no hereditary nobility; nor was there one law for the poor and another for the rich; one law for the mighty and another for the lowly. All were to be instructed, and all were on a common level. Then there were prophets sent of God, and rabbis, or teachers skilled in law, whose special business it was to instruct the people; and finally in the first Psalm the blessing of God was specially pronounced upon the man whose "delight is in the law of the Lord, and in his law doth he meditate day and night." "He shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of waters, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season, his leaf also shall not wither, and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper."

Such a system of instruction as this must have conduced to the intellectual well-being of the nation. Hence the Jews have been largely preserved from the evils of gross ignorance, and have in many instances attained to great intellectual and literary eminence.

This characteristic still marks the Jewish nation; for we find that the Jews to-day lead the nations around them in education as easily as Joseph taught the senators of Egypt wisdom, or as Daniel and his Hebrew brethren led the students in Babylon in the days of Nebuchadnezzar.

When Sir Moses Montefiore urged Prince Paskievitch

the Russian Governor of Poland, to do something for the education of the Jews, he exclaimed, "God forbid; the Jews are already too clever for us. How would it be if they got good schooling?" But in spite of the obstacles that have impeded the Jew in his pursuit of knowledge, while the population of the Russian Empire is 183,394,717, and the number of Jews in Russia is only about *three millions*; from *twenty to thirty-three* per cent. of the students in the higher classical schools are Jews. In the Gymnasias or High Schools of Berlin, though the Jews make up but *five in a hundred* of the population, their children furnish *thirty in a hundred* of the students. Of 3609 students in the University of Berlin, 1302 were Jews. Of 2488 students in the High Schools of Vienna, 1039 were recorded as Jews. In lower Austria, out of 2140 lawyers, 1024 were Jews; and the higher the range of scholarship, the greater the proportion of Jews becomes. A professor in the University of Berlin states that while the Jews number only *one in seventy-five* of the population of the Empire, in a few years every *tenth educated man* in Germany will be a Jew. In some of the Hungarian Gymnasias, three-fourths of the pupils are Jews. Throughout the kingdom, in the Gymnasias, they make up *eighteen per cent.* of the students, in certain higher schools *thirty-six per cent.*, and in the law schools *twenty-five per cent.*, while they only amount to *four per cent.* of the population!

This educational proficiency gives the Jews a great advantage over the oppressed and depressed populations around them. It may not elevate their moral character; they may use their education for purposes of personal aggrandizement; but it gives them an advantage, and places them beyond the competition of the unschooled and besotted Gentiles among whom they live, and makes them influential wherever they are.

The influence of the Jewish people, either for good or for evil, is mightier than that of any other people of equal numbers and opportunities. Not only are the money kings of the world Jews, but the European press is largely in the hands of Jews. If we take up a European daily paper, we read Wolff's telegrams, and Wolff is a Jew ; and in the comments which form public opinion we are quite likely to be reading what Jews have written. Science boasts such Jewish names as Arago, Herschel, Beer, and Stern, the astronomers; Sylvester the mathematician; Bloch and Hirschfeld in the department of physical science; and David Ricardo the eminent political economist. Among the historians may be mentioned the names of Jost, Geiger, Herzfeld, Grätz, and others.

Among Christian writers such men as Tholuck, Krummacher, Hengstenberg, Jahn, Neander, Dr. Saphir, Julius Müller, Dr. Ginsberg, Dr. Edersheim, Dr. Vait, court preacher to the emperor of Austria, and numerous others, are Jews. Among Hebrew lexicographers and scholars may be numbered Gesenius, Luzzatto, Fürst, Nordheimer, Zunz, Kayser, and Kalisch. Among Sanscrit scholars, Goldstucker and Benfey; among Greek, Jacob Bernays of Bonn; among Orientalists, Frank, who succeeded Renan as Professor of Semetic Languages in the college of France; Munk a member of the Academy of Belles Letters, and Inscriptions; and Jules Oppert, Professor of Assyrian Archæology and Inscriptions; are Jews.

About seventy professors' chairs in German universities are filled with Jews; and a large proportion of the editorial chairs in Europe are occupied by Jews.

A Jew in Spain, a member of the Cortes, was the editor of the Madrid *Correspondencia*, the most influential paper probably in that country. Out of 23 liberal and progressive Berlin daily papers, all but two are

under Jewish control. In Dresden in a gathering of the representatives of the press, 29 out of 43 were Jews. In Hungary the press of Pesth is said to be under Jewish management. In Austria out of 370 who returned themselves as authors, 225, or nearly two-thirds, were Jews.*

In medicine the names of Franke, Hays, and Remak are prominent; on the stage the Israelites are represented by Rachel and Bernhardt; Auerbach stands at the head of German novelists, and Heine and Börn sit on high among the poets.

Among musical composers and performers are found the names of Mendelssohn, Moscheles, Halevy, Rossini, Meyerbeer, Rubinstein, Joachim, Jules Benedict, Strakosh, Braham, Grisi, and other eminent musicians. And it is related that when Wagner prepared a musical composition to demonstrate the superiority of Teutonic over Jewish taste, as the time arrived to perform the piece that was to bring such confusion to the sons of Israel, the great composer, looking over the orchestra, saw to his surprise all the first violins in the hands of Jews, whose keen eyes were scanning the tangled score,—they being the only musicians that could be found skillful enough to take the lead in the performance! †

The principles of human liberty and popular government, which, coming down from the Mosaic law, had permeated the British Constitution, and were transported to be exemplified under new conditions in America; were afterwards carried to France, to a people from whom the Bible had been withheld, and whose minds, darkened by ignorance of the Word of God, and poisoned by infidel teachings, were entirely unfit for the responsibilities of civil liberty. The result was the French revolution.

* KELLOGG, *The Jews*, p. 174. † *Story of the Jews*, p. 238.

But with all the disorder and godlessness which characterized that terrible uprising, the cause of human rights made headway in the nation, and France, relieved from traditional oppressions, was among the first of European powers to lighten in some measure the distress of the down-trodden Israelites. Hence Jews were welcomed to positions of power and influence. They fought under the standard of Napoleon; several of them were among his marshals; and the name of Massena, "the favorite child of victory," scarcely conceals the real name of the Jewish warrior, Manasseh.

In the revolutions of 1848 the Jews came to the front. In the French government they had Fould, Cremieux, Goudchaux and others; the Jew, Pincherle, was a leader in the provincial government of Venice; Jacobin had lead of the opposition in Berlin; Riesser was vice-president of the Frankfürst parliament; Fischhof was at the head of the government of Austria after the flight of the court; Adjutant Freund, afterwards the well-known Mahmud Pasha, was leading the Hungarian forces in their insurrection. And since that time Jewish statesmen have never lost their influence or their ascendancy. Lasker in Germany, Gambetta in France, Disraeli in England, are illustrations of the presence and power of members of this separated nation.

In the American Congress, in the British Parliament, in the German Reichstag, in the French Chamber of Deputies, and in every place where skill, intelligence, energy, and power are enthroned, the Jew is to be found. Lately in Italy out of forty thousand Jews, eight held seats in the Chamber of Deputies, including the vice-presidency of the Chambers. In England though only about one in eight hundred of the population, yet recently they held *nine* out of 658 seats in the House of

Commons, while a member of their race was Prime Minister, and Sir George Jessel was master of the Rolls,—one of the greatest judges of our own or any time. In Germany the names of Liebknecht and Oppenheim, of the Reichstag, may be mentioned. Castelar, the foremost republican of Spain, is said to have been of Jewish lineage. The diplomacy of Russia is said to feel the control of the same race. In France, we find Fould, for four times minister of finance; Cremieux, minister of justice; Jules Simon; and Camille See, the able and successful champion of female education. On a recent occasion in France no less than twenty-one Jews were decorated with the Legion of Honor; yet the Jews in France number only about sixty thousand in a population of about thirty-seven million.* And in Germany the Jews, though not two per cent. of the population, are elbowing themselves into all the best places, to the dismay of the sturdy and steady-going Teutons.

The largest theological school on earth, the Mohammedan College in Cairo, with its three hundred professors and ten thousand students, has at the head of it Albasi, an apostate from Judaism, who is doubtless the most influential Mohammedan teacher in the wide world. And even the widespread infidelity and atheism of the age has its root in the writings of Baruch Spinoza, a pantheistic Jew; and among the revolutionary forces which are doing their work of destruction in Europe and in Russia, the Jewish Nihilists cannot be lost sight of. The "International Workingmen's Association" was really a product of the revolution of 1848, when the Jews, Carl Marx and Liebknecht, issued a circular on capital and labor. A Jew, Lasalle, founded the German Workingman's Union. Prof. Wassiljew of St. Petersburg

* KELLOGG, *The Jews*, pp. 174, 175.

says that it is an open secret that the Jews are among the leaders of the nihilistic agitation. M. Tissot calls attention to the notable fact that the nihilistic ranks are largely recruited by the Jews. There are *ten times* as *many Jews* among them as there are Russians, Poles, or Germans. The St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Jewish Chronicle* says, "We have unfortunately learned a great deal from the Russian nihilists. And at one of the trials of nihilists in Russia, out of sixty-three convicted persons no less than *nineteen were Jews*.*"

The principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity embodied in the Jewish law, are only practicable in the government of virtuous, intelligent, God-fearing and self-governing peoples. Introduced among the ungodly, the debased, and the degraded, they operate to the subversion of all law, order, and government; and when these principles are formulated by Jewish atheists and nihilists, who are no more fit to expound Mosaic principles than lunatics are to control locomotives, they lead directly to anarchy and destruction.

And it is possible that this fact, coupled with the financial ascendancy of the Jews, may explain the hatred which pursues them in despotic countries. For while a remnant of Jacob is to be among the people "as a dew from the Lord" bringing refreshment and blessing, we read also that "the remnant of Jacob shall be among the nations as a lion among the beasts of the forest, as a young lion among the flocks of sheep: who, if he go through, both *treadeth down, and teareth in pieces, and none can deliver.*" Micah v. 7, 8. And if the despised Jew is yet to be instrumental in the overthrow of modern social order, and the downfall of established institutions and governments, it may be because the

* KELLOGG, *The Jews*, pp. 203, 204.

nations of to-day have learned nothing from the history of Egypt, and Assyria, and Babylon, and the other nations who in times past have oppressed and persecuted this separated nation, and have in due time been judged and punished for their own misdeeds.

IV. JEWISH FINANCE AND STATESMANSHIP.

Knowledge is power; wealth is also power; and these elements combine to increase the influence of the Jewish people; for with advancing education, an immense amount of wealth is passing into Jewish hands. During the ten years from 1854 to 1864, the Rothschilds alone furnished in loans to England, Austria, Prussia, France, Russia, Brazil, and other states, more than five hundred millions of dollars. Vast portions of European soil are mortgaged to Jews, or are passing under Jewish control. In certain provinces in the west of Russia in 1869, seventy-three per cent. of the improvable property had passed from the hands of the Russians to the Jews. In Austrian Galicia, the amount of the encumbrance of real estate by mortgage has for several years past increased at the rate of eight million florins per annum, and one-third of the total amount has already passed by foreclosure into the hands of the Jews. The number of sheriffs' sales of peasants' land holdings had risen from 164 in 1867, to 3164 in 1879; and it was almost exclusively the Jews who brought about these foreclosures and secured thereby the property. Of the private mortgages registered in the province of Bukowina in 1877, 82 per cent. — according to official returns — were owned by the Jews. In 1881 it was said that already one-half of the real estate of that province, in town and country, had come into the possession of the Jews, and Dr. Thaddeus Pilat, the Director of the Bureau of Statistics, expressed the opinion that the remainder

would very shortly go the same way. In Hungary in 1878 there were 16,000 sheriff's sales of property, of which the greater part passed over to the Jews.* It has also been stated that the British occupancy of Egypt is largely in the interest of Jewish capitalists, holders of Egyptian bonds, negotiated at rates which indicate that the Jew is in a fair way to "get even" with Egypt in the settlement of some old scores left unadjusted when their forefathers emigrated from that country.

In Prussia, in 1861, out of 71,000 Jews in active life, 38,000 were engaged in commerce, while among 658 day laborers there was only one Jew. In 1871 there were 642 Jewish bankers in Prussia, though the Jews formed only two per cent. of the population. In Berlin, the Jews were *five per cent.* of the population; and while out of every hundred Protestants only *thirty-nine were returned as employers*, in a hundred Jews the employers numbered *seventy-one*; fifty-five per cent. of the Jews being engaged in mercantile pursuits, against only twelve per cent. of the Protestants and Germans. In lower Austria, of the 59,122 merchants, 30,112 are Jews.

The power of this remarkable people is manifest in the management of great monied interests and corporations. One of the religious papers of Berlin asserts that "the Bourse of Vienna actually lies wholly in Jewish hands." One Jew owns about one-fourth of the entire railway system of Russia. Other European railway systems are paying tribute to the same race. And as if in all things the Jews must have the pre-eminence, it is said that the intricacies of modern railroad finance, so impenetrable to plain speaking and plain-dealing people, such as "common stock," "preferred stock," "first," "second," "third," and "thirteenth mortgage

* KELLOGG, *The Jews*, pp. 162, 164.

bonds," "floating debt," "watering," "Credit Mobilier," and the whole system of founding of joint-stock companies, negotiating stock, and realizing upon it by fleecing the people, are the invention of the great Jewish financiers Isaac and Emile Pereire, who, from being the railroad kings of France, grasped at power over the whole continent of Europe, organizing and controlling companies by the score, buying up at a stroke all the government railroads of Austria, and setting an example of comprehensive rapacity which has been followed by Gentile imitators throughout Christendom; thus burdening the impoverished multitude to accumulate a few colossal fortunes; and sucking the life blood of the nation to fatten great and greedy monopolies.*

Said a recent writer, of Jewish nationality, "The Jews govern the money market, and the money market governs the world. There are individual Jews, however, whose financial power is more vast than that of any government. There lives in London a Jew, a plain man, in manners simple as a child, whose scrawl on the back of a piece of paper is worth more than the royal word of kings, or the plighted faith of republics; who, bent ever upon the errand of his tribe, has lent to the various European States within the last twenty-six years, more than 570 millions of dollars, and could afford to pay the debt of any one of them any morning that the whim might seize him. The Holy Land is virtually under mortgage to the Rothschilds, a mortgage which no Gentile power dares to meddle with.

"A few years since the house of Rothschild was applied to by the Russian government for a loan. The elder Rothschild went to St. Petersburg, where he was waited upon by the minister of finance of the Russian

* *Story of the Jews*, p. 277.

government, Count Canerin, a Lithuanian Jew of pure Hebrew descent. The loan was connected with the affairs of Spain. From St. Petersburg the Rothschild proceeded to Madrid, where he had a conference with the Spanish minister of finance, Count Mendazibil, an Arragonese Jew of pure Hebrew descent. Thence he proceeded to France where he conferred with the premier of the French government, Marshal Sault, a Parisian Jew of pure Hebrew descent. A final interview was held at Berlin with the minister of finance of the Prussian government, Count Arnim, a Prussian Jew of pure Hebrew descent. Negotiations respecting the loan were now ended; the Rothschild offered the Czar their terms, and he accepted them.

"Such is a single instance of the financial and consequent political power of the Jews in Europe. Our authority for the facts concerning this loan is a recent lord of the exchequer in the foremost commercial capital in the world, a Jew, and one of the most astute and accomplished of living statesmen."*

What more need we say of this race—a race which gave to Egypt her prime minister to teach her senators wisdom in the days of Pharaoh, which gave the wise men of Babylon their master in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, which gave a prime minister to Persia in the days of Darius, and a premier to Great Britain in the time of Victoria; and which is still able to supply other nations with rulers and leaders, and is in one way or other influencing the world as it is influenced by no other nation on earth?

Possessing and combining the four elements, health, wealth, temperance, and education, what prevents the Jewish people becoming the leading nation on the globe? And still they are wanderers, without a king, without a

* REV. S. BONHOMME, in *Prophetic Times*.

prince, without a priest, without an altar, without a land, without a home. But in the highest ranks of art, in science, in literature, in music, in the drama, everywhere upon the very summits of these professions, we may discern, outlined against the sky, the figure of the Jew! Dispersion has failed to disintegrate them; captivity has failed to denationalize them; persecution has failed to exterminate them; and though all things have seemed to oppose their advancement, yet still they win their way. An Israelitish slave, falsely accused and lodged in an Egyptian prison, mounts the chariot of Pharaoh, and becomes the preserver and teacher of the mightiest nation on the earth. Out of the depths of poverty and spoilation, the Jew arises to sway the finances of the world in the days of its most marvellous wealth. From the carpenter's shop at Nazareth comes One from whose birth the civilized nations reckon their years and date their documents, and whose name is above every name. The captivities and migrations of centuries have failed to eradicate the characteristics of this wonderful nation. It still exists, the engima of the ages, the mysterious race, the one people for whose existence skepticism has never been able to account. And if another Frederick the Great, should to-day demand of his chaplain the briefest and most conclusive argument for the truth of the Scriptures, the answer would still be as it was a century ago, "The Jews, your Majesty."

The skeptic may find fault with Moses' law, but he cannot deny that the people who have observed it for three thousand years have outlived their cotemporaries, and have prospered while others have perished. He may sneer at prophecy, but the Jew walks the earth to-day a living fulfillment of prophecies uttered thousands of years ago. He may scornfully reject the claims of the

Prophet of Nazareth, but so long as Jerusalem is trodden under foot of the Gentiles, and the Jews are scattered in every land, we need no further evidence of the truthfulness of His predictions, and the divine authority of his teachings.

V. THE SOURCES OF JEWISH POWER.

In view of these facts the intelligent and philosophic student will not deem an inquiry into the character of this people, and the sources of their strength, a mere idle occupation. The history of the Israelitish nation proves them to have been an especially favored people; "chiefly because to them were committed the oracles of God." Rom. iii. 2. They were not the sole depositaries of divine revelation; others before Abraham had walked with God, and preached righteousness, and had fellowship with the Most High. The revelation of God to Abraham was a re-discovery of truths previously known, but lost sight of through human apostasy. Abraham was called out from a nation of idolators to restore and preserve the knowledge of God among the nations of the earth. From his loins sprang this unique race, which, separated from all others, flourishes when others decay, exists when others perish, takes rank with the highest and the mightiest, and in every equal conflict seems to remain master of the field.

What, then, is the solution of the mystery which enshrouds this wonderful people? Where are the hidings of its power? Where the sources of its strength and individuality, which, under the ban of Providence and the adversities of ages, have still upheld this separated nation, burning like the bush in Horeb, and yet unconsumed by the fierceness of the flame? How have they survived such afflictions? What is the secret of their endurance?

There are three grand forming and conserving forces which have largely entered and affected the national life of this separated people.

I. THEIR NATIONAL HISTORY.

First, this nation has a history. That history commences with the calling of Abraham and the covenant made by God with him, saying, "In blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." Gen. xxii. 17, 18.

The infidel may deny the promise, but he cannot deny the performance; he may dispute the prophecy, but he cannot question the fulfillment. The whole Hebrew history revolves around an Almighty God, a personal Deity, who entered into covenant with his ancient people, and whose promises to them, most solemnly confirmed, have been and are still being most remarkably fulfilled. The Israelite looks back to his great progenitor, who was called "the friend of God." He traces the record of mighty deliverances, of wondrous miracles, of marvellous providences, and manifestations of almighty power; and under the shadow of these majestic circumstances, he walks through the world with a consciousness that his unique position is one of dignity and grandeur. While the ancestors of the proudest peoples on the globe were wild savages in their native forests, his progenitors were princes of the earth, kings in thought as well as in wealth and power, whose wisdom and whose splendor have shed undying lustre upon the annals of the Jewish nation, and given the knowledge of the one true God to the benighted families of the earth.

Such a history as this cannot fail to profoundly impress

the Jewish people. Whatever may be thought of the present or the future, the past is secure, and the splendors of their ancient achievements can never be blotted from the pages of authentic history, or erased from the memories of mankind.

II. THEIR NATIONAL LAW.

Second, the law which God gave by Moses not only separated the Jewish nation, but it conserved them. This law, the foundation of the first republic which the world ever knew, elevated the nation above all others by a mighty upheaval, so that from being a race of slaves, they became in a day the one people, of all the inhabitants of the earth, who knew and worshiped and honored and revered the true God of heaven and earth. In the midst of a seething ocean of filth and abominations, this solitary nation, planted among their rocky hills, maintained the worship of one living God, preserved the institutions of the family in unwonted purity, and lived under a system of moral and hygienic regulations which touched and governed their entire life from the cradle to the grave; which preserved them from disease; controlled and regulated their passions; checked the baser impulses of their natures; secured the vigor of their offspring, prevented over-population; guarded the poor from oppression; held back the rich and strong from tyranny; provided for every woman a husband; gave to every man a home where he could dwell; rescued the debtor from the creditor; unbound the fetters of the slave; preserved the distressed from the exactions of the usurer; provided for the worship of God, the education of children, and the recreations of society; controlled the methods of agriculture; made sacred the person and the life of every man; provided an administrative system which has not yet been greatly improved upon; and equipped the nation

with a constitution, organization, and law which, if observed, and faithfully carried out, would have established that nation like a mighty rock amid the rush of tossing waves, and would, long ere this, have made Israel the dominant power of earth, a kingdom of priests, through whom the nations might have learned the knowledge of the true and living God.

But, as humanity untried and untested ever proves a failure, and as man knows not in his day the things which belong to his peace, so the Israelitish nation, possessed by an evil heart of unbelief, departed from the living God; and their history for thousands of years has been the history of a nation under the ban of Him who desired to bless them, and chastened by the very hand that, had they been faithful, would have been stretched out to protect them in every emergency, and to deliver them from all their foes.

Nevertheless, through all these ages of darkness God has not forgotten his ancient people, and though the curse of a broken law is upon them, and fearful calamities and judgments have pursued them, yet in so far as they have kept this law, in its rites, its ordinances, and its observances, so far, even in their disobedience and exile, and under most discouraging circumstances, they have been preserved in a condition of mental and physical health and vigor, such as no other nation on earth possesses.

III. THEIR NATIONAL HOPE.

Third, not only has the Israelitish nation lived under the shadow of a history, and under the guardianship of a law such as no other nation ever had; but it has been inspired by a hope such as has inspired no other nation. What were the hopes of Egypt, of Babylon, of Assyria, of Rome? What great thought inspired any of these

nations, and led them forward, as to a glorious goal? No record can be found of any such national inspiration or expectation. But the Jewish nation has lived in the brightness of a hope so radiant that the world has never produced its parallel: the hope of a Messiah, an Anointed One, a Great Deliverer, a descendant of Abraham, in whom all the nations of the earth should be blessed; a son of David, whose reign should be peaceable and universal; a king that should reign in righteousness, while princes should rule in judgment, when the earth should be filled with the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. This has been the inspiration of Israel's sons and daughters, who have looked forward to the day when, after the long dejection of ages, a child should be born, and a son given, upon whose shoulders the government should be placed, and whose reign should be peaceful, prosperous, and eternal. This great thought of the coming of Messiah has flamed like a morning star through the darkness of Israel's deepest night, and has turned their thoughts to the latter days, the days of rest and refreshing, the days of mercy and salvation, when the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and to them that turn from transgression in Jacob; when the daughter of Zion shall hail her King, and her long captivity shall be forever broken. It is this hope which has upheld the hearts of Israel in their darkest hours, which has prevented the disintegration of the nation, and has proved to them the one great, central, guiding thought that has ruled them in their course in this world.

For the nation of Israel their *history* has been an example. The record has been radiant with deeds of mighty prowess, heroic daring, and noble self-sacrifice; and while there have been pages blackened with sin and guilt, there have also been examples of penitence, mercy,

magnanimity, purity and uprightness, unparalleled in the records of the heathen world around them.

The Jewish *law* also has been to them a guide, a protection, a defence; a rallying centre around which Israel's broken legions could re-form their lines and maintain their integrity. And the *hope* of Israel has been a constant inspiration that has borne aloft the spirit of the nation in her darkest hours of sorrow, in her deepest abysses of anguish and distress. With such a HISTORY, with such a LAW, and with such a HOPE, how could this nation fail to develop characteristics higher and nobler than those of any other nation beneath the circuit of the sun. And yet to-day, notwithstanding all the exceptional instances of Jewish power and wealth and exaltation, the vast majority of the nation are poor, despised, oppressed, downtrodden and wronged; and even Israel's God does not interpose to rescue them from their sad condition. Why is this? What can be the cause of the dispersions and afflictions which have so long been Israel's bitter portion?

VI. ARE THE JEWS NOW THE PEOPLE OF GOD?

Beyond all question the Jewish people *have* been in past ages the special favorites of heaven. By the observance of the law which they had received, they were placed in a position far higher than that occupied by any other people on the earth; and in so far as they observe that law they still retain their preëminence over all peoples who have not also been brought under the influence of that same law. But in addition to this advantage over other nations, their history seems to indicate that they were for ages peculiarly favored of divine *Providence*. But it is equally evident that for many centuries of their *later* history they have been under affliction, calamity, and

chastisement. And if we must attribute their former prosperity to the special favor and mercy of the Most High, must we not also conclude that their present afflictions are the result of providential chastisements, and that they no longer enjoy the divine favor once extended to them as the chosen people of the Most High God?

In what sense can the Jews to-day be said to be the people of God? If we take a period of thirty-eight hundred years from the time of Abraham till now, and divide it into two equal parts, we shall find the first portion full of tokens of the power and presence of a wonder-working God, who watched over, cared for, and blessed this people. Throughout this entire period, this nation alone maintained the worship of the one true God. They alone were the depositaries of a divine revelation. They alone possessed and expounded a divine law. They alone offered acceptable worship, instituted and ordained of God. The divinely appointed sacrifices, Sabbaths, feasts, and ordinances, belonged exclusively to them. Though the world around them was idolatrous and debased, yet among this people, from time to time, God raised up judges, rulers, lawgivers, teachers, deliverers, and kings. He communicated with them. In times of perplexity he gave them counsel; in times of danger he wrought wonderful deliverances for them. By their hands he chastised his enemies, and executed vengeance upon nations who had grown old in sin and were utterly corrupt. He gave them an inheritance, and planted them within its borders, there guarding, protecting and blessing them. Every seventh day, every solemn feast, every sabbatic year, every jubilee was a memorial unto the Lord. For every child that was born an offering was made; every first-born son was redeemed, every year the paschal lamb was slain; every day a sacrifice was offered; and at every

point in life the Israelite was made conscious of the presence of the God of Abraham, the God of his fathers.

HOW IS IT TO-DAY ?

What tokens have the Jewish people of the Divine presence and favor? They have no inheritance; Jerusalem is trodden under foot of the Gentiles, and the cities of Judah are desolate. They have no temple; the mosque of the Mohammedan crowns the height where once they worshiped and adored the Most High. There is for them no pillar of cloud by day nor flame by night. They do not, as of old, appear in Zion before the Lord. They have no altars, no sacrifices, no priesthood exercising their ministry as in the ancient days. They observe the passover, but no paschal lamb is slain. They keep the great day of atonement, but no blood is shed to make reconciliation for their sins. They offer the sacrifices of praise with their lips, but the burnt offerings and the sin offerings, with the sprinkled blood which spoke pardon to the guilty, are unknown among them. The sacrifice and the oblation have ceased, and they ceased just after one who claimed to be the Messiah was wounded for our iniquities and cut off, but not for himself. Isa. liii. Dan. ix. And while thus unable to keep their own land, the nation for the most part are at the mercy of their oppressors. They win no victories over the enemies, they inflict no judgments upon their foes. They have no leaders nor deliverers raised up of God. During the last eighteen hundred years, every leader who has arisen among them has led them to defeat and overthrow.

The Jews have neither judges, kings, nor rulers; and especially are they destitute of special revelations at the hand of God. No guiding token marks out the course they ought to take; no oracle gives answer to their questions;

no Urim and Thummim convey the divine response to direct them in the day of their perplexity. As of old so now it may be said in the words of the Psalmist, "We see not our signs; there is no more any prophet; neither is there among us any that knoweth how long." *Psa. lxxiv. 9.* And though in some countries they enjoy wealth and prosperity, yet it is estimated that five-sixths of the Jewish people are still in poverty and distress.

Through the first half of the existence of the Israelitish people there was a constant succession of prophets of the Lord. But where are Israel's prophets for the last eighteen hundred years? Their only prophets have been false prophets, who have deluded and betrayed their trusting followers. None of the Jews to-day claim prophetic inspiration. No man is raised up of God to deliver or to judge Israel. Among all the Jewish people no one claims to bear the message of the Lord. The Word of God is precious, but there is no open vision.

What shall we say of these words of Isaiah the prophet: "Because when I called ye did not answer; when I spake ye did not hear; but did evil before mine eyes, and did choose that wherein I delighted not; therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, my servants shall eat, but ye shall be hungry; behold, my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty; behold, my servants shall rejoice, but ye shall be ashamed; behold, my servants shall sing for joy of heart, but ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and shall howl for vexation of spirit. And ye shall leave your name for a curse unto my chosen: for the Lord God shall slay thee, and call his servants by another name"? *Isaiah lxxv. 12-15.*

Can it be denied that these awful words are in process of fulfillment? Has not the very name of a *Jew* been for ages a reproach, a curse, and a hissing? Has not the

God of Israel chastised his ancient people for their disobedience, and does he not recognize another people, and call his servants by another name?

How then can the Jews, as they are situated to-day, claim to be in any special sense the people of the Lord? What marks have they to indicate that they are especially chosen and favored of the Most High? Do not these facts plainly indicate that at the present time the Jewish people cannot properly regard themselves as the chosen people of the Lord?

WHY ARE THE JEWS AFFLICTED?

Why is this? Israel has men of talent, genius, eloquence, sagacity, and influence; but where are the men on whom, as of old, rests the Spirit of God? Anciently when Eldad and Medad prophesied in the camp, Moses said, "Would that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that he would put his Spirit upon them all." But why is it that not *one* among all the sons of Israel is now called and qualified to fulfill the prophetic office? Surely, if ever the Jewish people needed guidance, instruction, and consolation, they have needed it during these dark and terrible years that have passed since they have been wanderers in all lands. But no deliverer appears, no prophet arises to point out for them the way. During the last eighteen hundred years no Jew can be named who has stood forth as a messenger of the Lord to his nation, as a tower of strength to this afflicted people. There have been learned men, whose writings and thoughts are to-day dormant in huge folios, or are pored over by students and recluses. But where can a man be named whose words have thrilled the nation, and at whose call the sons of Judah have wakened from their lethargy, as the bones in Ezekiel's valley stirred beneath

the breath of the Lord? There have been reformers whose words have roused the nations and awakened the peoples to righteousness, but they have not been of the Jewish race or religion. There have been men who have translated and expounded the writings of Moses and the prophets, but they have not been Jews. What mission is Israel fulfilling? What work are they now performing? They have been scattered into all lands. They have learned all languages, and have such opportunities as no other people ever had, but what have they done? What nation has been led by them to know and fear the God of Israel? In what way are they, the seed of Abraham, a blessing to all the nations of the earth? Why are they thus scattered? Is it in mercy or in judgment? Is their dispersion a blessing or a curse?

WHY ARE THE JEWS SCATTERED ABROAD?

In the *Talmud*, *P'sachim*, fol. 87. b. Rabbi Eliezer says, "The Holy One, blessed be He! *banished Israel among the nations* with no other object than that *proselytes be added to them*; for it is said, 'I will sow her unto me in the earth.' (Hosea ii. 23.) For what purpose does a man sow one *seah* but to reap many *cors*?"*

According to the words of the prophet Hosea, as expounded by Rabbi Eliezer, the dispersion of Israel among the nations was solely that they might make *proselytes* to the worship of God. As the nations could not all come to Palestine, the people of God must be *scattered among them* to teach them his way of salvation.

Now it is a remarkable fact that the Jews never *attempted* to make *proselytes* among the heathen nations. The Orthodox Jews, who receive the *Talmud*, believe that "No *proselytes* shall be received in the days

* A *Seah* contains about five pints; a *Cor* contains four *Seahs*.

of Messiah, even as no proselytes were received in the days of David and in the days of Solomon." *Yevamoth*, fol. 24. b. The Orthodox Jews therefore *make no efforts* to *proselyte* the Gentiles, nor do the Karaite Jews, who never accepted the Talmud, nor the Reformed Jews who reject the Talmud. In this they *all agree*. They put forth *no efforts* to disseminate Judaism among the nations on the earth.

When Lavater, a Swiss clergyman, having translated a work from the French which he believed to be unanswerable, dedicated it to Moses Mendelssohn, summoning him to reply to it or renounce the Jewish creed; Mendelssohn replied: "Pursuant to the principles of my religion, I am not to seek to convert any one who is not born according to our laws. . . . Our rabbis are so remote from desiring to make proselytes, that they enjoin us to dissuade by forcible remonstrances every one who comes forward to be converted. . . . Thus, you see, the religion of my fathers *does not wish to be extended*. We are not to send abroad missions. Whoever is not born conformable to our laws has no occasion to live according to them."*

Rabbi Mendes says, "The consistent doctrine of the Jews, is never to seek to influence the religious opinions of their fellow-men, but to extend the widest tolerance to all men of whatever belief; . . . their faith renders them hostile to proselytism of any kind."

And yet the knowledge of the God of Israel, of the prophets of Israel, and of the law of Moses, has been carried, and *is being carried* into all the earth. And this work *has* been accomplished through the instrumentality of Jews. Not by such Jews as Rabbi Yehuda, Akiva, Moses Ben Maimon, Mendelssohn, Spinoza, Heine or Deutsch; nor yet by Jewish bankers, millionaires, statesmen

* *The Story of the Jews*, by JAMES K. HOSMER, pp. 246, 247.

or journalists; but by *other Jews*, such as Jesus of Nazareth and his *Jewish* disciples, Matthew, Mark, John, Peter, and others, to whom He said, "Go *ye* into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." And through them and their friends and followers, such as Paul, Apollos, Barnabas, Silas, Philip, and a great multitude of believers who were scattered abroad from Jerusalem and went everywhere preaching the word, the knowledge of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, has gone into every quarter of the globe; and the *seah* which was thus sown *has* yielded "many *cors*." For every civilized nation of the globe has been brought to the knowledge of the God of Abraham by the instrumentality of *these Jewish teachers* and their successors, who have thus fulfilled the prophecy of Hosea, as expounded by Rabbi Eliezer. But these teachers have been rejected by the Jewish nation, who are still left unguided in "the wilderness of the people."

It was declared to Abraham that in his seed should "all the nations of the earth be blessed." But what descendant of Abraham has ever brought such blessing to the world as that young "Israelite indeed," who was rejected, and crucified eighteen hundred years ago? The marked amelioration of the condition of the peoples of the world during the last eighteen centuries, has not been wrought by the Jewish nation as a whole. They have not been for ages past the instructors of the world. It is not through the Jewish nation as it exists to-day, that men have heard even the words of Moses' law. They have not translated that law into hundreds of languages and dialects. They have not scattered copies of it by millions, like autumn leaves, from one end of the world to the other. True, they read the law in their synagogues every Sabbath day, but with all their wealth and power, what have they done to diffuse it? What are they now

doing to disperse among the nations that Law, the observance of which has given them all the greatness they possess? The countless millions of copies of the books of their law and prophets, which have been scattered in every nook and corner of the world, have *not* been published by the agency, or at the expense of Israelites, to whom that law was given, but they *have* been dispersed by the followers of that Jewish Prophet of Nazareth, who proclaimed that till heaven and earth should pass, not one jot or tittle of the law should pass, till all were fulfilled, and who has thus, through his followers, done a thousand-fold more to disseminate the sacred writings of Moses and the Hebrew prophets than has been done by the entire Jewish nation in the past eighteen centuries. And to-day the most of the chief expounders of the elements of the Mosaic law are found among the followers of that Jewish teacher who was born in Bethlehem, whose public life was spent in the land of Israel, who was obedient to all the precepts of the law, and whose disciples were chosen from among the Jewish people, and who never forsook the land of their birth, and their kindred according to the flesh, until they were persecuted, hated, and driven out, and forced to turn to the Gentiles, and proclaim to them the words of everlasting life, which the Jewish priests and teachers had rejected.

And though many of them have been Israelites, not only by blood and lineage but by faith and life, yet the Jewish people have disowned them. There have been men who have gone among heathen nations and proclaimed the glory of the one God, until multitudes have cast their idols to the bats and the moles, and turned to worship the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but the men who have done this have not been known as Jews,

There have been organizations established for diffusing the writings of Moses and the prophets, and millions and millions of these writings have been scattered in hundreds of different languages from one end of the globe to the other; but the work *has not been done by Jews*. Jews have not made the translations, furnished the funds, prepared the books, nor scattered them abroad in the earth.

The men who have done all this have been the disciples of that Jewish Teacher who, 1800 years ago, declared, "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world;" "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away." Matt. xxiv. 14, 35. Was he not a true prophet?

If then the knowledge of Israel's God is being carried into all the world, and if the Jews in their dispersion do not disseminate that faith which they love, must we not then conclude that the dispersion of Israel is a divine chastisement for their sins, in accordance with the ancient prediction of Moses the man of God: "The Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from one end of the earth even unto the other; . . . and among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest"? Deut. xxviii. Is it not in accordance with the word of the Lord by Amos: "Behold the eyes of the Lord God are upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth, saving that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob, saith the Lord. For lo, I will command, and I will sift the house of Israel *among all nations* like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth. All the *sinners* of my people *shall die* by the sword, which say, The evil shall not overtake nor prevent us. In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen down"? Amos ix, 8-11. Surely the dispersion of Israel

among the nations had been long foretold, and the Prophet of Nazareth was only uttering more fully and explicitly the threatenings which Moses and the prophets had uttered long before, and his words are fulfilled before us.

THE DESOLATIONS OF JERUSALEM.

But there is another fact: more than 1800 years ago this same Teacher, looking upon the temple at Jerusalem with its magnificent adornings, said, the day will come when "there shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down." And as he sat upon the slope of Olivet and looked off upon the city which lay in its magnificence before them, his followers clustered around him and asked him, "When shall these things be?" To them he foretold the history of this world, and said to them, "When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of it depart out; and let not them which are in the countries enter thereinto. For these be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled. But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days; for there shall be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be *led away captive into all nations*, and Jerusalem shall be *trodden down of the Gentiles* until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." Mark xiii. 2; Luke xxi. 24.

Were these the words of an enthusiast, an impostor, a false prophet? Were they not the utterances of One over whose words the God of Israel himself has watched, and has not suffered one of them to fall to the ground unfulfilled? And have they not been fulfilled not only upon that nation but upon that city?

It is probable that no other spot on earth has been the scene of so much of human suffering, sorrow, and calamity, as this one city of Jerusalem, around which the storms of war have raged so often, while within, famine and pestilence, carnage and outrage have done their worst. No other city on earth has been besieged, captured, plundered, depopulated, desolated, destroyed, rebuilt, fortified, surrendered, ravaged, and burned, so many times as this city. The hills and valleys that are round about Jerusalem have been trodden by the armed warriors of every land. The hosts of Egypt, the warriors of Philistia, the armies of Assyria, Syria, Babylon, Persia, and Rome, have each in their turn overwhelmed the sacred place. Army after army has besieged it; nation after nation has oppressed it; conqueror after conqueror has stormed its walls, or passed in through its open gates. Captured and re-captured more than twenty times between the days of Joshua and the birth of Christ, and since then possessed by Romans, Mohammedans, Crusaders, Franks, and Turks, it has probably changed hands nearly fifty times during the period covered by authentic history; and to-day the City of the Highest lies prostrate beneath the oppressor's heel.

No other spot on earth has such a history. No other place has been so deluged with blood and woe. No other city has been so blessed; no other city has been so cursed. No other city has been exalted to such heavenly heights of privilege, no other city has been cast down to such awful depths of misery and desolation. The flowing blood of friends and foes, children and aliens, innocent and guilty, has mingled there. For centuries Jerusalem has been trodden under foot of the Gentiles. For centuries her children have been strangers in every land, but nowhere more so than in the land of their fathers.

For centuries their highest privilege was to wail and weep among the ruins of their ancient capital. And still the curse lingers upon it from age to age. Who can tell us why this city so beautiful for situation, which God has chosen that his name might be there, is doomed to such judgments and desolations? What is the strange secret of this city's woe? Why is it that for successive centuries it has been the central point upon which earth's storms of wrath have beat? Why is it that such terrible indignation has been poured out upon this spot? Can it be that the blood of all the martyrs from righteous Abel down, is there to be avenged? Can it be that this once hallowed soil has been crimsoned with the blood of a rejected Messiah? Can it be that the awful imprecation of Israel's rulers, "His blood be upon us and upon our children" is receiving its fulfillment? Can it be that He who foresaw its impending ruin, and wept over the city and cried out, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together as an hen doth gather her brood under her wings," was indeed the long-expected Deliverer, who was "despised and rejected of men"?

One thing we know, that his prediction, "Jerusalem shall be trodden under foot of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled," is accomplished before our eyes. For eighteen hundred years that city has been tossed to and fro among the nations of the earth, but it has ever been kept under Gentile control. That one people who have loved that city as they have loved their lives, have been exiles from its borders, or strangers in its streets. And still the dark mystery remains; and though there may be faint tokens of a coming dawn, yet the clouds are heavy and the darkness is thick. Is there

any hope for this mysterious city? Shall the curse abide forever? Or shall the weeping eyes of Israel be turned from the foundations of their desolate temple, to "look on Him whom they have pierced," and mourn in penitence for Him? Shall the day come when, where sin abounded, grace shall so much the more abound, and when "they shall call Jerusalem the throne of the Lord," and the nations of the earth shall worship, and know the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ"? Jer. iii. 17.

Of the future let us not speak too confidently, for secret things belong to God. But let us be watching and waiting for the coming of the Master, assured that He who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will, shall in due time accomplish his own gracious purposes, and fulfill the promises which he has made to the fathers, in his own time and in his own way.

VII. THE COMING OF MESSIAH.

Though the Jews now deny that the Messiah is come, and some of them deny that he ever *will* come personally, yet it is a well-established fact that the ancient Jews did believe in the coming of a personal Messiah, and that they believed he was to come about the time that Christians say he *did* come; so that the faith of Christians to-day is thus in accordance with the opinions of the *ancient* Jews. And not only that, but ancient Jewish writers in the *Talmud* have admitted that the appointed time for the coming of the Messiah is already expired. Thus: in the *Sanhedrin* (fol. 97, col. 2), we read, "Rav says the appointed times are long since past." Again we read in the *Sanhedrin* (fol. 97, col. 1), "Tradition of the school of Elijah. The world is to stand six thousand years. Two thousand, confusion; two thousand, the law; two

thousand, the days of the Messiah." Upon this Rashi remarked, "After the two thousand years of the law, according to the decree, *Messiah ought to have come*, and the wicked kingdom to have been destroyed, and Israel's state of servitude should have been ended."

Now according to the Jewish reckoning, the year 1886 is the year 5647 from the creation, and according to this the Messiah should have appeared at least 1646 years ago. We do not assert that this *is* a genuine tradition of the prophet Elijah, but it certainly shows the opinion of the ancient Jews. They held that the Messiah should appear about four thousand years from the creation. If this tradition be derived from the prophet Elijah, then the Messiah has certainly come *long ago*. And if it be *not* genuine, it shows that the ancient Jews *believed* that the Messiah *would* come about the time that Christians say he *did* come; and hence the Jews to-day do not believe what their forefathers did, and the Christians *do* believe what the ancient Jews did, that the proper time for the coming of the Messiah was about four thousand years from the creation. Besides this, it can be shown that the ancient Jewish rabbis believed that the Messiah *had* come; and that he was born about the time of the destruction of the temple. Thus in the *Jerusalem Talmud*, Rabbi Judan tells this story. "It happened once to a certain Jew who was standing plowing, that his cow lowed before him, and a certain Arab was passing and heard its voice, and he said, 'O Jew, O Jew, unyoke thine ox and loose thy plowshare, for the temple has been laid waste.' It lowed a second time when he said, 'O Jew, O Jew, yoke thine oxen and bind on thy plowshare, for *King Messiah is born*.' And the Jew said, 'What is his name?' 'Menachem.' He asked further, 'What is the name of his father?' The other replied, 'Hezekiah.' He

asked again, 'Whence is he?' 'From the royal residence of Bethlehem of Judah.'" The story then goes on to tell that the Jew went to see the child, but on a second visit the mother told him that the winds had borne the child away (*Berachoth*, fol. 5, col. 1). In the *Babylonian Talmud* (*Sanhedrin*, fol. 93, col. 1), we are told that "Rabbi Joshua found Elijah standing at the door of the cave of Rabbi Simon Ben Jochai, and said to him, . . . 'When will Messiah come?' Elijah replied, '*Go and ask Messiah.*' Rabbi Joshua said, 'Where does he sit?' 'At the gate of Rome.' 'And how is he to be known?' 'He is sitting among the poor and sick. They open their wounds and bind them up again all at once.' . . . Rabbi Joshua went to him and said, 'Peace be upon thee, my Master and my Lord.' He replied, 'Peace be upon thee, son of Levi.' The Rabbi then asked him, 'When will my Lord come?' He replied, 'To-day, if you will hear his voice.'" *

These Rabbinical traditions or fables show that according to the testimony of the ancient Jews the time for Messiah's advent has *passed long ago*; that the time appointed for his coming was at the end of the *fourth thousand years* from the creation; and that at that time he *really did come*, and was born in Bethlehem of Judea; that he was taken to *Paradise*,—for Rashi explains the *Gate of Rome*, to mean the gate of Paradise opposite Rome—and finally he is waiting to return to this earth for the redemption of his people. Thus the most ancient Rabbinical writings confess that the time for the coming of Messiah is past, and that he was *born long ago*. Who then can he be, but that child that was born in Bethlehem, and whose name is now exalted above every name?

The Jewish people to-day reject this the greatest Teacher

* See *The Old Paths*, Dr. Alex McCaul, No. L. pp. 537-547.

their nation ever produced, and are destitute of prophets and leaders, and scattered in all lands, and in many countries persecuted and sorely oppressed, and God sends them neither help nor deliverance in the time of their troubles and persecutions.

Is it not plain that, as the prophet foretold, God has said to Israel, "*Lo-ammi* (not my people); for ye are not my people, and I will indeed not be to you a God"? Hosea i. 9. Have not the long ages of affliction, captivity, and dispersion terribly fulfilled this word upon this nation?

But the same prophet declares that notwithstanding all this, yet the ancient promise to Abraham shall be fulfilled, and the children of Israel shall yet be "like the *sand of the sea*, which cannot be measured nor numbered; and it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, *Lo-ammi*, (Ye are *not* my people) there it shall be said unto them, Ye *are* the sons of the living God." Hosea i. 10.

But when that day arrives it is said, "Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together, and appoint themselves *one Head*, and they shall come up out of the land." Hosea i. 11.

Is not here some gleam of hope for a rejected and afflicted people? Is there not something here foretold for Israel which has never yet been accomplished?

WHO IS ISRAEL'S PREDICTED LEADER?

But who is this one glorious Head, whom the children of Israel and of Judah shall appoint, and to whose standard they shall rally? Is it not the "root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people, to him shall the Gentiles seek; and his rest shall be glorious"? Isa. xi. 10. Is it not the promised Shiloh unto whom the "gathering

of the peoples shall be?"* And who is there in all this world who can ever fill such a position as this, and rally to his standard not only Judah and Israel, but the nations and peoples of the earth? Can it be that lowly *Jew* who was born in Bethlehem, who grew up like a small shoot, and as a root out of dry ground, who had no form nor comeliness, and in whose countenance was nothing that could cause us to desire him; who was despised and shunned by men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, from whom his brethren hid their faces and esteemed him not; but who bore their diseases, and carried their pains, while they indeed esteemed him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted? Shall Israel, after long ages of suffering and sorrow, come to know and adopt the prophetic confession: "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and through his bruises was healing granted to us. We all like sheep went astray; every one to his own way did we turn; and the Lord let befall him the guilt of us all. He was oppressed and he was also taunted, yet he opened not his mouth; like a lamb led to the slaughter, like a ewe before her shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth. Through oppression

* The following extracts from Jewish commentaries show the ancient understanding of Gen. xlix. 10 among the Jews.

"There shall not pass away one exercising rule from the house of Judah, nor a scribe from his children's children forever, until that Messiah shall come, whose is the kingdom: to him shall the people listen (or be obedient)."—*Targum of Onkelos*, B. C. 40.

"There shall not cease kings from the house of Judah, nor scribes teaching law, from his children's children, until the time that King Messiah shall come, whose is the kingdom, and to him are all the kingdoms of the earth to be subjected."—*Jerusalem Targum*, about A. D. 600.

"There shall not cease kings and rulers from the house of Judah, nor scribes teaching the law from his seed, until the time that King Messiah, the youngest of his children, shall come, and on account of Him shall all the nations be dissolved." *Targum of Jonathan*, about A. D. 500.

The *Gemara*, *Pesachim* 87 B. also *Tosophath*, declares that the passage in Hosea i. 11, refers to "the future Messiah."

and through judicial punishment was he taken away, and his generation—who could tell? He was cut off out of the land of the living; and for the transgression of my people the stroke was laid on him.” Can it be that he whose grave was made with the wicked, and with the rich at his death, although he had done no violence, and there was no deceit found in his mouth; and who, though the Lord was pleased to bruise him, the prophet declares shall yet see his seed, and prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hands, and he shall see the travail of his soul and be satisfied, and through his knowledge shall bring many to righteousness while he bears their iniquities—can it be that he who was thus foretold is Jesus of Bethlehem? Is this He of whom God hath said by his prophet, “Therefore will I divide him a portion with the many, and with the strong shall he divide the spoil, because he poured out his soul unto death, and with the transgressors was he numbered, while he bore the sin of many, and for the transgressors he let evil befall him?” Isaiah liii.

Can it be that the children of Israel, after abiding all these “many days without a prince and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod or a teraphim, afterwards shall return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and fearing will hasten to the Lord and to his goodness in the latter days?” Hosea iii. 4, 5. But who shall it be that shall then stand as a representative of the house of David? Can it be that long despised and rejected Jew, who, though poor and lowly, and persecuted and slain, is nevertheless now honored in every Gentile land, and revered by men of every race and tongue? Can it be that Son of David and of Mary, who came not to destroy the law or the prophets but to fulfill them; who said that though heaven and earth pass

away, not one jot or one tittle of the law should pass till all should be fulfilled: who expounded to his disciples all things in the law and in the prophets and in the Psalms concerning himself; and whose mild and hallowed teachings have blessed the nations and have secured even to the scattered sons of Israel most of the prosperity which they now enjoy? Can it be that by the Jews to-day, as by their forefathers of old, *their* Joseph has been rejected, sold, and lost from their view, and shall he yet reveal himself to them in the day of their famine and distress, seated, not on the throne of Pharaoh, but at God's right hand, "expecting till his enemies be made his footstool;" and while God shall "pour out upon the house of Jacob and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and supplication, and they shall look unto him whom they have *pierced*, and mourn because of him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him as one that is in bitterness for his first-born;" can it be that they shall at last bow before their long rejected but exalted brother, and say, "Behold, we be thy servants," and shall hear him say, even more tenderly than Joseph did of old, "Be not grieved nor be angry with yourselves; God hath thus sent me before you to prepare for you a permanence on the earth, and save your lives by a great deliverance. It was not you that sent me hither, but God; Fear not: though ye thought evil against me, God meant it unto good, in order to bring to pass as it is this day, and save alive a numerous people?" Gen. xlv. 5-8; l. 18-20.

Why should Israel be stricken any more? Why will they increase their revolt, when the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint? Is it not time for them to turn to the Lord from whom they have revolted, and listen to the Messenger whom he hath sent, and cease from

their rejection of Him who has ever been their best and truest friend, and accept the Prophet whom God hath appointed, saying, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord"?

It is a remarkable fact that the most influential Jew that ever walked the earth is now discredited and despised by that nation which should count him as their chiefest glory. True, he was born in a stable, and cradled in a manger, and in his early manhood hung upon a Roman cross, yet his name is now heard on every shore, and honored in every land. I do not now refer to what is called Christianity, in any of its forms or creeds. I do not refer to Romanism, or Protestantism, or any other *ism* that may be mentioned, but rather to the personal influence of that young Jewish carpenter, whose birth has marked an epoch in the ages, and is inscribed on the commercial documents of the civilized world; whose name the changes of eighteen hundred years have failed to efface and whose fame grows brighter and brighter with each departing day.

His teachings are more widely known than the teachings of any of Israel's prophets; there are more men who count themselves his followers, and would imperil their lives at his command, than ever were marshaled under the standards of Israel's monarchs in their palmy days; his words are treasured in the secret heart of humanity, and are proclaimed abroad as no other words have ever been proclaimed; his example is the admitted standard of all human perfectness; and his influence has ameliorated the condition of humanity, and done more than all other known forces toward bringing in the reign of universal brotherhood among the nations. But for the work of this Teacher and his followers, the names and writings of Israel's prophets, instead of being scattered through the

world in hundreds of translations, would hardly be known beyond the parchment rolls of Jewish synagogues. Even Jews themselves owe a large proportion of the liberty, and prosperity, and peace they enjoy, to the kindness and good-will of those who believe in Jesus the Messiah.

And though the nations of Christendom to-day neither serve nor follow Christ, yet their morals have been elevated, and their social condition ameliorated and improved, by the high standard of his example which is ever set before their eyes. In the brief three years and a half of his public life, he proved himself the friend of the poor, the helper of the needy, the comforter of the sad, the opposer of fraud and trickery and self-righteous hypocrisy; the upholder of the Mosaic law, the expounder of the sacred prophets; the worker of unnumbered miracles of mercy and of blessing, exceeding all that prophets had wrought before him; the teacher of the common people, and the hated foe of fawning sycophants, hypocrites and fanatics, who, to compass his destruction, were ready to deny their highest rights, bow their necks beneath the yoke of Rome, and say, "We have no king but Cæsar."

No Jew that ever lived has such a name and fame as this mysterious sufferer who, amid years of labor for the good of his co-religionists, was yet "despised and rejected of men, a Man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief." One would suppose that such a personage, spotless in character, wise in teaching, wondrous in working, mighty and far-reaching in influence, would be honored and claimed by Israel as the bright consummate flower of their national character. Instead of this, he has been, and still is, despised, and rejected, and hated without a cause.

And yet the unbeliever cannot rid himself of his presence. From his birth year, as from a central epoch, civilization reckons and dates all events, past, present,

and future. A skeptic writing his letter; a traveler securing a passport; an infidel lawyer recording his deeds and mortgages; a government coining its money and issuing its obligations; even the grand Turk himself, sending forth his bonds for sale among civilized humanity,—all must date their letters, notes, bonds, and obligations, from the birth year of this lowly, despised, crucified Nazarene. At the bottom of the title-page of the books which deny his existence and blaspheme his name, stands the *date* of their issue, which is reckoned from the year of his birth; the document by which the infidel blasphemer holds the copyright of his blasphemies, is issued to him "*in the year of our Lord*;" and a widely-circulated Jewish newspaper before me bears beside its Jewish date the figures "1885," expressing the time that has elapsed since the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of David.

IS NOT THIS THE MESSIAH?

If it be claimed that the promised Messiah, the Son of David, has not yet appeared in the world, then it will never be possible to identify him at any future time, as the ancient genealogical tables have utterly perished, and no Jew now living on earth can trace his descent back to the loins of David the king of Israel. Hence the apostle Paul emphasizes his instruction to his son Timothy, "*Remember that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead according to my gospel*" (2 Tim. ii. 8); for to-day he is the only living being who can claim to represent the house of David and trace his lineage back to that royal family. If we reject him there is no other Messiah in the past, there *can be none* in the future to fulfill these prophecies, and so the hope of Israel is shrouded in rayless gloom.

When Jesus of Bethlehem appeared and taught and wrought wonders in the land of Judea, the common people heard him gladly, and the devout and faithful welcomed him as Israel's King. A great multitude even of the priests hailed him as their eternal High Priest, "after the order of Melchizedec." But the scribes, the rulers, the politicians and the office-holders, whose iniquities speedily brought destruction on the nation, rejected the Teacher who rebuked their sins and invited their deluded followers into better and brighter paths. So they hated him without a cause, and rejected him and slew him. And since that time no son of Israel has arisen who could help or save them. As time has rolled on, their path has been beset with thorns and sorrows. False prophets have since appeared, claiming Messianic power and authority, and have deceived many; but the true Messiah was not among them, nor have they brought any deliverance to the sons of Jacob. And so their hearts have grown sick with hope deferred, and they have by vague and various surmises sought to satisfy their minds concerning the predicted coming of Messiah. About the year 1140 Rabbi Joseph Albo openly denied that a belief in Messiah's coming was a fundamental article of the Jewish faith, and many of the sons of Israel have since utterly abandoned this ancient hope. Some of them have said that the prophecies of the coming Messiah were accomplished in the mission of the Jewish nation; and others have forsaken the faith in which they were brought up, and no longer believe the testimony of the prophets. Nevertheless, devout Israelites still retain this ancient expectation, which in the year 1180 was thus placed by Maimonides among the *Thirteen Articles* of the Jewish religion: "*I believe with a perfect faith in the coming of Messiah, and though he may tarry, nevertheless I will*

look for him every day until he comes." When Hillel II., in the time of Constantine the Great, said "There is no Messiah for Israel, for Israel had its Messiah long ago, in the days of Hezekiah," Rabbi Joseph replied, "May God forgive Hillel."* Others are as faithless as was Hillel, and doubtless there are thousands who have abandoned and denied this hope, but they have also, in many instances, denied the mission of Moses, the inspiration of the prophets, the authority of the law and miracles of their ancient history; and so, however much they may claim to have Abraham as their father, they cannot be accepted as exponents of the true faith of ancient Israel. That faith embraced the coming of the Messiah, the desire of all nations, who should appear to redeem and save his people; and those who cherish that ancient faith still look forward to the consummation of this same grand and inspiring hope.

If we deny the history of the Jewish nation, and reject the theocracy which was established in the wilderness, we find no means to account for the present condition or existence of this strange people. If we deny the divine origin of that law which came by Moses, we have then to answer the question, how a law based upon falsehood, deceit, and imposture, proves to be more excellent in its character, and more salutary in its influence, than any law which human wisdom has ever devised. If we deny that the providence of God watches over the Jewish nation, for the accomplishment of wise purposes, and inspired predictions, we have then to explain how it has come to pass that these prophecies, uttered so many ages ago, are so accurately and circumstantially fulfilled before our eyes. Moreover, if we do not accept the great fact of a promised Messiah as the hope of Israel, and the

*GRATZ, *Gesch. d. Juden.*, iv. 386.

desire of all nations, we then sap the very foundation of the life of the Jewish nation, and show that their continued existence is still an inexplicable mystery.

But admitting the divine mission of Moses, the celestial origin of the law given on Mount Sinai, the truthfulness of sacred prophecy, and the accuracy of its fulfillment as seen in the history of the Jewish nation, we have then to deal with the Hope of the coming of Messiah as the one remaining element in this great problem. For the Jews have for ages hoped and prayed and looked for Messiah's coming, and that hope still lives within the hearts of the devout believers in Israel's God.

Those Jewish teachers who were the earliest proclaimers of Christianity, perpetually reasoned out of the Hebrew Scriptures, "opening and alleging that the Messiah must *needs have suffered*, and risen again from the dead." Acts xvii. 2, 3. They constantly declared that in their preaching they only proclaimed such things as "Moses and the prophets did say should come to pass;" and thus they "mightily convinced the Jews that Jesus is the Messiah." Acts xxvi. 22; xviii. 28.

If the Scriptural prophecies concerning the Messiah were fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth, then that fact is susceptible of proof; and reasonable men, willing to know the truth, ought to be able to come to some agreement concerning the facts in the case. Certainly we can have no reasonable motive for holding an erroneous opinion concerning this matter.

One thing is certain; it is time this question was thoroughly discussed upon its merits. Unreasoning prejudices should be cast aside. It is not necessary to believe that a descendant of Abraham is a knave because he has come to the conclusion that Jesus of Nazareth was Israel's Messiah. If Jewish rabbis and leaders of

Jewish thought, can endure to look on while multitudes of their co-religionists are denying every truth and every precept by which they are identified as a people, surely it is not necessary to stigmatize and reproach men who have been led to believe that Jesus of Nazareth was really the Messiah promised to Israel, and foretold by the Prophets of old. Surely there has been quite enough of unreasoning prejudice and bitter persecution on both sides of this controversy. Is it not time that honest men who are believers in Abraham's God, and respecters of Moses' law, should come and reason together, and acquaint themselves with each other and with the truth which alone can make them free indeed? Sure it is that the founders of the Christian religion were all of them Jews, and it is by no means certain that they were inferior, either in intelligence or integrity to those zealots who put their necks under the Roman yoke, rejected and scorned the most influential teacher their nation ever produced, and finally by their sins brought ruin and desolation on their nation. Is it not time for the sons of Israel calmly to consider these facts, and to treat with kindness and courtesy those followers of that Jewish teacher who came not to destroy the law but to fulfill it, and through whose influence it has been spread abroad among the nations of the earth as it never was before? In the earliest days of Christianity the gospel of Christ was preached, "beginning at Jerusalem." The message was sent "to the Jew first and also to the Greek;" and it was in Jerusalem, on the very ground where the Messiah was rejected and crucified, that "a great number of priests were obedient to the faith;" and "the common people" who "heard him gladly" were children of the stock of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. Since that time many of the sons of Israel have

embraced the faith of Christ, and their number is increasing, and may still increase, but is it necessary that they should be scorned and abused and excommunicated for believing in a Jewish Messiah, while men are allowed to stand as teachers in the synagogues, and proclaim doctrines and practices which subvert the faith of ancient Israel, and leave the bulk of the nation afloat upon a shoreless sea of doubt and unbelief?

For it is no secret that a large proportion of the children of Abraham are no longer devout and believing worshipers of Abraham's God; or sincere observers of the Mosaic law.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE JEWS.

We know that piety is a personal matter, and that righteousness is neither inherent nor hereditary. From the remotest times the prophets have taught the lesson that men have gone astray from God, that they have turned every one to his own way, and that only through penitence, sacrifice, intercession and obedience, can they approach as accepted worshipers the presence of Almighty God. The language of the Prophet of Nazareth, "Ye must be born again," is no more emphatic, than the prayer of the guilty Psalmist, "Create in me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within me."

But what do the mass of the Israelites of to-day know personally of these things? Is not their religion largely a matter of birth, tradition, form and ceremony? Do they not lack that divine endowment which was the source of all prophetic inspiration, and which distinguished their holy men of old from all other men on the face of the earth? Can it be said that a relief from the maltreatment and persecutions of other ages has given them any new inspiration, or increased the fervor of their devotion?

We fear not. Not a few of the sons of Israel have abandoned all faith in the God of Abraham, and have become openly atheistic and impious. Others seem entirely indifferent to all religious matters. Some, while glorying in their nationality, are mere rationalists, and deny the inspiration of their own prophets, and would reform Judaism by eliminating from it everything of a supernatural character. Rabbis in their synagogues do this openly, and the effect of such teachings can easily be imagined. Devout and hearty worship is we fear too rare in the synagogues; and the conviction forces itself upon the mind of the observer, that the devotion offered by these people is far different from that which kindled in the hearts of the ancient prophets, and brought the sons of Israel from distant lands to worship in that temple which was "a house of prayer for all nations."

A writer in the *Christian Commonwealth*, having entered a London synagogue on the Great Day of Atonement thus describes the scene:

"In the hands of most of the Jews were copies of the solemn words of repentance intoned by the Rabbi at the desk, but vainly did we search for many reverent worshipers. Men were gossiping and bargaining over the backs of the pews, some were sound asleep, others crossing and re-crossing the floor of the building to greet their friends, children struggled for books as in a school-room. Here and there some white-headed father was standing by with his eyes on the Hebrew characters, or lost in deep thought, resting his head on his hand at the corner of the pew; but speaking of the vast majority it was a mockery of worship, a state of things impossible to be found in any Christian church or chapel."

The New York *Witness* asserts that there are in that city eighty thousand Jews, of whom less than eight

thousand attend the worship of the synagogue. The rest have lifted their own anchors, and are floating on a sea of the wildest latitudinarianism and free thought, many of them being skeptical.

The New York *Hebrew Journal*, speaking of a proposal of a Jewish Ministers Association to revise the English Bible, expresses a doubt of their ability to do it, and says, "To tell the truth openly, few of our brethren will read the Bible, and of those few, the greater part are able to read it in the Hebrew original. We need a public of Bible students, before we go to work to prepare a Bible to be studied."

Said Dr. Gottheil in an address in Temple Emmanu-El, "The foundations of the old faith have been sapped. The storms coming from the wilderness of skepticism have smitten the four corners of the house, and materialism has eaten as a dry rot into the whole frame, threatening the moral atmosphere within."

The *Hebrew Standard*, in writing of "What our old men have done for us;" after describing their commendable labors in building synagogues and temples, and founding charities, says, "We can also thank them for the flagrant violation and public desecration of the Sabbath, for the indifference to Jewish customs, in fact for the general ignorance that prevails in their midst upon Judaism, its history and its literature. 'Our old men' have had the control of our religious education. What have they done? Reared their children in the same ignorance which surrounds and overshadows them, and, to our disgrace be it said, *not one Israelite in a hundred can read Hebrew!* NOT ONE IN FIVE HUNDRED OBSERVES THE JEWISH SABBATH!"

If this be the actual condition of the sons of Israel in lands where they are most favored, is there not reason

to fear that there is some fatal defect in the faith they cherish? Is it not possible that they may have missed the true way in the darkness of the ages past, and may it not be wise for them candidly to re-consider the whole subject? Let us then glance at a single one of those ancient predictions which are believed by many to foretell the Messiah's coming.

THE SCEPTRE AND SHILOH.

The patriarch Jacob in his dying prophecy said, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah; nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and to him shall the gathering of the people be." Gen. xlix. 10. It is well known that the ancient Jewish teachers and expositors explained this predicted *Shiloh* to mean the Messiah. But, as all are obliged to allow that the sceptre has *now* departed from Judah, for the Jews to admit this ancient interpretation would be to confess that Messiah had already come, and that they have not recognized him nor received him. Hence, unless they abandon their whole system of faith, they must of necessity assign some other meaning to the passage. Accordingly some have suggested different translations, though, after looking over the criticisms of both Jewish and Gentile scholars, Rabbi Isaac Leeser, in his *Translation of the Twenty-Four Books of the Holy Scriptures from the Hebrew*, leaves the passage as it stood in the authorized English Bible. Various interpretations are also suggested, in explanation of this passage. Some render it, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from his descendants forever, *for* Shiloh shall come, and to Him shall be the gathering of the people." This, however, is not admissible, for the sceptre certainly *has* departed from Judah long ago. Phillipson, the eminent Jewish translator,

renders the passage, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, even when he cometh to Shiloh; and to him shall be the obedience of the nations;" and in a comment he says, in substance, that to Judah is promised the rule and prominence in Israel, which was not to depart even when Joshua the Ephraimite should set up the tabernacle in Shiloh, after the conquest of Palestine.*

A variety of other interpretations are offered by Jewish expositors, which are unsatisfactory, and in direct opposition to the ancient interpretations of the most learned Jewish Rabbins. It has been affirmed that the word *sceptre* here symbolizes royal dignity, and points especially to the *royal house of David*, which sprang from the tribe of Judah. But as the sceptre departed from the house of David, and so from the tribe of Judah, at the destruction of the temple, and with the blinding of Zedekiah, who was carried captive to Babylon; the family of David thus dropping out of sight and the Jews being ruled by others, as by the Maccabees, therefore, according to that interpretation, the coming of Shiloh must have occurred *before* the Babylonian captivity, as the royal sceptre then departed from Judah; and hence the passage cannot be applied to a Messiah born since that captivity.

To solve this difficulty, let us examine the passage itself. The word *shēh'vet*, translated *sceptre*, occurs in the Old Testament some 181 times. In 145 places it is translated *tribe*; 25 times it is rendered *rod*; twice it is translated *staff*; once it is translated *pen*,—that being the stick or rod of the writer; once it is translated *dart*, as when Joab took three *darts* and thrust them through the heart of Absalom; once it is translated *judges*, in the margin; and eight times it is translated *sceptre*.

* See notes appended to Leese's Translation of the Hebrew Bible, p. 1238.

The word in its primary signification denoted a *staff*, a *rod*, a shepherd's crook or wand; "Thy *rod* and thy *staff* they comfort me." Hence it became a staff of the *judge*, chieftain, or leader of the tribe, and so, finally, the sceptre of a king; though the word itself does not necessarily refer to kingly power or royalty. Neither David nor any of his sons ever bore the *sceptre* or *shēh'vet* of *Judah*. The sceptre which David swayed was the sceptre of *Israel* as a nation. The word then properly signifies the tribal staff, and thence came to be used most frequently of all to designate the *tribe* itself. It was the token of tribeship, and not the sceptre of royalty.

The possession of the *shēh'vet* was not a peculiarity of *Judah* at all. Every tribe has its tribeship, and its *shēh'vet*, which symbolized the tribe, as an organized body governed by its judges, rulers, and leaders,—but *never* by a *king*, as no *one* tribe ever had a king anointed or appointed to reign over it.

The promise, then, was *not* that the *royal authority* should not cease from *Judah*, or, as the *Jerusalem Targum* and the *Targum of Jonathan* both expound it,—“There shall not cease *kings* from the house of *Judah* till *Shiloh* come,”—for *Judah* *never had a king* nor royal authority; *Judah* and all the other tribes being local republics, governed by judges, leaders and rulers.

Hence the interpretation that the sceptre of the *house of David* should not depart from *Judah* until *Shiloh* came, is entirely unwarranted. The older interpretation, from the *Targum of Onkelos*, more accurately represents the true idea. “There shall not pass away *those who exercise rule* over the house of *Judah*, nor a scribe from his children's children forever, until that *Messiah comes*, whose is the kingdom; and to him shall the people listen,”—or be obedient. Consequently the argument that *Jesus*

of Nazareth cannot be the promised Shiloh or Messiah, because the sceptre of David's house has departed from Judah hundreds of years before, seems inconclusive. That which was not to depart from Judah, was *not* the royal sceptre of *Israel*, which *Judah* never possessed, but the *tribal staff* or tribal authority of Judah, which was never vested in David, nor in any other of the kings of Israel, but which remained in the hands of the local rulers of the tribes, who constituted "the elders of Israel."

Each of the twelve tribes had their own *shēh'vet*, and exercised local authority within their own territories. As the years passed on, the ten tribes revolted, and subsequently were carried into captivity and broken up; and afterward the tribes of Judah and Benjamin were, for their sins, conquered and carried away to Babylon. The ten tribes never returned.* They were scattered abroad; their tribal organization perished; their staff was broken, for they were captives and exiles, destitute of civil rights and civil power. Hence the *shēh'vet*, tribeship, sceptre, or tribal staff, *had* departed from these *ten tribes*. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with certain of the priests and Levites, who were divided among all the tribes, returned to Palestine in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Thenceforward the tribe of Judah maintained its tribal integrity and remained a people; and for those hundreds of years the tribeship, or tribal staff, did *not* depart from *Judah*; though for centuries no one sat on David's throne as king of *Israel*.

At length, as the encroachments of the Roman power increased, the Jews, on account of their sins, were brought under the rod of the oppressor. A decree went forth from "Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be *enrolled*." The Jews were thus subjected to Roman

* Ezra i. 5; iv. 1. Neh. vii. 6.

control. We know what an enrollment means. It implies that the enrolling government is done dealing with or through the local authorities, the governors, or representatives of the people, and now proposes to deal directly with the individuals, recognizing no intermediate authority. An enrollment gives to the enrolling power the name, residence, and standing of every individual in the land. It enables that power to lay its hands on every man, for control, taxation, or conscription. When that act was accomplished Jewish independence was gone!

The decree for this enrollment brought Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem; and there, at that *critical point of time*, that wondrous child was born, over whose cradle the heavenly hosts poured out their joyous anthems, and at whose birth those who "waited for the consolation of Israel" gave thanks to the Most High. And when Jesus was born in Bethlehem, Shiloh, the peace-bringer, or peaceable One, had come, and the prediction was fulfilled. Now Cæsar could go on with his enrollment as rapidly as he chose. He did so; and the Roman emperor Julian afterward objected to the Messiah's royal title, saying that instead of being "King of the Jews," he was *born a subject* of Cæsar. In this statement, he was evidently mistaken, as Christ's birth undoubtedly occurred immediately on their *arrival* at Bethlehem where "there was no room in the inn." The tribeship had not then departed, but when the enrollment was complete the tribal authority passed from Judah, her citizens were enrolled as the vassals of Rome, and eleven years later Judea was made a Roman province. And when that Child who was born in Bethlehem stood in the presence of Pilate, the Jews had lost the power to inflict capital punishment, and when Pilate said, "Shall I crucify your king?" their answer was, "*We have no king but Cæsar,*"

The sceptre thus departed from Judah, the tribal authority was gone; and though there yet remained for a while teachers of the law, yet within a few brief years these also were scattered, Jerusalem was destroyed, the tribe of Judah was swept from the land as by a flood, and the Jews were led away captive into all nations, according to the prediction of that Jewish Prophet whom they had rejected and crucified. Luke xxi. 24.

During all the previous ages of Israel's national history Judah had maintained the *tribeship*, until Jesus of Nazareth was born in Bethlehem. Since that time the tribe of Judah has maintained no tribal organization. The staff of authority is broken; her power has passed away, the *shēh'vet* or *tribeship* has *departed from Judah*, and therefore SHILOH HAS COME!

HIM HATH GOD EXALTED.

That mysterious being who claimed to be both David's Lord and David's Son; who did such wondrous works as no man had ever done before; whose words were heard with gladness by the common people; and yet who was rejected by those Jewish leaders whose own crimes brought speedy ruin upon the nation; and crucified by unwilling Romans, who in their turn avenged his blood by the overthrow of the guilty nation which clamored for it; it is claimed is that predicted Ruler of Israel, who was to be born in Bethlehem of Judea, and yet "whose goings forth were of old, from everlasting," and it has been asserted by many witnesses that He has risen from the dead, conquered the grave, and ascended to the right hand of God, where he is both Adonai and Messiah, until his enemies are made his footstool. Psalm cx; Micah v. 2.

It is not a strange thing for mortals to receive Divine

homage. Ancient heroes, conquerors, and emperors, again and again have been deified and worshiped as divine. But who adores them to-day? Where are their images, their altars, their temples, their worshipers? Their names linger, but their glory has departed. In all Europe there is not to-day one mortal so low as to do reverence to one of those demi-gods which Rome and Greece adored. They had power while living; they are powerless when dead. But this Leader, who on earth had neither throne nor scepter, weapons nor warriors, wealth nor state, yet to-day rules a wider realm than ever bowed to the sway of king or emperor. He has more followers than any monarch that ever lived. He is more loyally loved, and more implicitly obeyed, than any king the world has ever known; and his power and influence are extending more rapidly than ever before. He is not the idol of the ignorant, the debased, and the despised; but the men of highest intellect, keenest vision, noblest blood, and purest lives, are proud to bow the knee before him, and own him as their Lord. And wherever the knowledge of His name is borne, there barbarism departs, cruelty vanishes, the desert blossoms, and peace and gladness come to bless the world. And even this is but the beginning of a career that shall reach wide as the world, and stretch through all the ages of eternity. Is not this then He of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write, and should not both Jew and Gentile hail him as their great deliverer, that Seed of Abraham in whom all the families of the earth are to be blessed;—saying, “Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord?”

VIII. JEWISH ENFRANCHISEMENT IN AMERICA.

The dark ages were dark indeed for the Jewish people. In 1290 they were banished from England, nor were they allowed to return for four hundred years. In 1394 they were expelled from France; and throughout Europe they were under ban. But though driven from land to land, they for some three centuries found protection in the Moorish kingdom of Granada, where many of them rose to positions of wealth and honor. When in 1492 Granada fell into the hands of Ferdinand king of Spain, the doom of the Spanish Jews was sealed. From the palace of the Alhambra went forth the decree which doomed the race to exile, and which no effort of theirs could reverse. The eminent Abarbanel flung himself at the feet of the Spanish monarch, and offered a bribe of three hundred thousand ducats that the decree might be revoked. Suddenly Torquemada the chief inquisitor, stalked into the royal presence in his monkish robes, bearing the crucifix, and exclaiming, "Judas Iscariot sold his Master for thirty pieces of silver; you wish to sell him for three hundred thousand. Here he is; take him and sell him!" The fierce fanaticism of the inquisitor overawed the Spanish monarch. The fiery denunciations of Torquemada prevailed, and on the second of August, 1492, robbed of their fortunes and driven from their homes, the Jews went out like Abraham, not knowing whether they went; but, unlike Abraham, lacking the sensible guidance and favoring presence of their covenant-keeping God. No words can tell the misery they endured. They knew not where to go. They set sail for different lands. Some were cast away, or sunk like lead in the ocean. Some were destroyed by the plague which broke out upon the crowded vessels. Some were set on shore on desert coasts, without provisions. Some perished by famine, others were captured

and sold as slaves. Some carried the plague with them to the places of their refuge. They suffered woes unspeakable, and calamities indescribable.

Nevertheless, even in this hour of darkness and despair, God had thoughts of mercy toward a nation which were beloved for the fathers' sake; and his gracious providence was still making provision for this afflicted people. The very next day after this horrible decree was put into execution, the third of August, 1492, three little ships, with 120 men, sailed away from Palos on a voyage of discovery.

In command of that little fleet was a man of strange and mysterious character. His portraits confirm the assertion that he was of Jewish origin. One thing is well known, that from early life to his dying day, as evidenced by his letters, his plans, and his last will and testament, the one dearest object of his heart's desire was to rescue the city of Jerusalem from the grasp of her oppressors. It was to this purpose that he proposed to consecrate the wealth which his discoveries might bring to him. And his whole career was inspired by a desire to prepare the way for the fulfillment of the Hebrew prophecies, and the coming of Israel's Messiah in his glory and majesty.*

Thrilled with this sublime enthusiasm, Columbus went forth with his little fleet upon this remarkable errand. Turning their backs on the east, with all its historic glories, they passed the far-famed pillars of Hercules, and sailing toward the setting sun, pursued their way over the trackless ocean to seek an undiscovered shore. They did not seek in vain, for beyond all known islands, in the far-off west, their eyes were gladdened with the sight of land, and they opened to humanity a newly-discovered world.

* Says the *Contemporary Review*, "Paul did not believe more absolutely that Christ had called him to go to the Gentiles, than did Columbus that God had ordained him to open that path for mankind. How the fire burned within him both his letters and his actions reveal. It is said that his hair turned white through this inward travail before he was thirty years old." See also "*The Reign of Christ*," by D. T. TAYLOR, pp. 293-295.

THE LAND SHADOWING WITH WINGS.

A remarkable prophecy occurs in the eighteenth chapter of the book of Isaiah, "Ho to the land with spreading wings, which is beyond the rivers of Cush, that sendeth on the sea ambassadors, and in vessels of *gomeh*, messengers over the face of the waters. Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation pulled and torn, to a people terrible from their beginning and onward; a nation meted out and trodden down, whose lands the rivers have spoiled. All ye inhabitants of the world, and dwellers of the earth, when the ensign is lifted up on the mountains, see ye; and when the cornet is blown, hear ye."

What land is this which the prophet thus graphically describes, which lies "*beyond* the rivers of Ethiopia"—whose ensign, unfurled upon the mountain tops, attracts the attention of all the inhabitants of the world, and the sounding of whose trumpet challenges the notice of all the dwellers on the earth? It was not one of the great eastern powers, for it lay in another direction. It was not Tarshish, nor Egypt, nor Ethiopia, nor any of the kingdoms or nations then known; otherwise its name would have been given. Its precise locality is not determined, but its direction is clearly indicated. It was apparently some land *then unknown*, described by the prophet, who spake as he was moved by the Holy Spirit.

Can such a land be designated to-day? If so, where is it to be found? Let the reader take his stand where the prophet stood, and let him turn his eye westward, toward Ethiopia, or Cush, and look onward until he looks beyond the outlets of those rivers which drain the waters of Ethiopia; let his eye still glance on across the mighty deep, and the first land that meets his vision will be the far-off Western Continent of America! Is this the land of outspreading wings, the land "shadowing with wings," beyond the rivers of Ethiopia? More than one

of the American nations bears upon its standards, and upon its coins, the eagle with its spreading wings as the national symbol. Is this the land which sends its ambassadors over the sea in swift vessels of a kind unknown and undescribed before? "Vessels of bulrushes" certainly never could be counted as "swift ships," and never could cross the sea. The Hebrew word, *goh'meh*, rendered bulrushes, is from the root *gahmah*, to absorb, to drink up, to swallow; and is applied to bulrushes because they so readily absorb moisture. Exod. ii. 3; Job viii. 11; Isa. xxxv. 7. Rashi explains the word to signify "soft wood which sucks water;" which was perhaps as nearly correct as any guess could be in those times. Etymologically, this passage might refer to vessels absorbing water. Can it be that this peculiar expression was used to describe some then unknown "swift" sea-going vessel, which modern ingenuity would invent, absorbing water, or propelled by steam, for which ancient languages had no name? If so, was it the water-absorbing steamship, which originated in America?—the Savannah, having sailed in 1819, from Savannah, Georgia, to Liverpool in twenty-six days. Can it be that America is the land shadowing with wings?*

But has this land challenged the attention of all the

* Rabbi Isaac Leeser, late of Philadelphia, the learned translator of the Hebrew Bible, in *The Occident*, of which he was the editor, published a learned criticism on the eighteenth chapter of Isaiah. He argued that the commencing word in the King James translation, "Woe," was a mistranslation, and that "Ho" was the proper term: also that "vessels of bulrushes" was another mistranslation, as ambassadors by sea could not be sent in such frail vessels; but that the "swift messengers" of Israel would be carried in "vessels of revolving wheels," in other words, the swiftest steamships afloat. From the ensign of the United States government, representing the azure color of the sky, with the stars on the field, and the fact that their ambassadors had of necessity to go over the seas, and that its national emblem is the out-spreading and swift eagle wings, it was his conviction that the passage applied to the United States of America. Indeed, he remarked to the writer in the time of the civil war, "This government must be preserved in unification, because its mission is to restore Israel her rights, civil and religious, and send forth a present to the Jehovah of Hosts to Mount Zion, which it was impossible to accomplish by a dissevered nationality."—J. L. BOYD, in *Sabbath Advocate*, Jan. 3, 1879.

inhabitants of the world and dwellers on the earth? Does the lifting up of its ensign attract their eye, and the blowing of its trumpet awaken their ear? What other nation is there that for the last century has so occupied the attention of the world? What other nation has offered homes to the homeless, lands to the landless, and refuge to the persecuted, like America? To what other shore, since the world began, have the teeming multitudes of earth poured in at the rate of *thousands every day*, not with weapons of war, in the array of battle, but with the implements of toil, and for the purposes of peaceful industry. This nation's trumpet blast has awaked the slumbering peoples of the world, and has called the sons of poverty and oppression to the peace and liberty and plenty of a newly-discovered land.

And has this land had a message of help to a nation pulled and torn, meted out and trodden down, whose land has been overwhelmed by the swelling floods of Gentile hosts? In that land was first enunciated the grand doctrine that all men were created free and equal, and that Jews as well as Gentiles had a right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The statute books of that nation have never been stained with laws enacted against this helpless and exiled people; and in this *one land* a refuge from oppression has been provided, and in it Israel's sons have been sheltered from the blasts of persecution; and here, for the first time since the sons of Israel wandered in exile, has there been an asylum opened, where the Jew could find rest and refuge, justice and right.

But who were the founders of this nation which offered such privileges to the sons of Israel? What were their traditions? Whence came their laws and the principles of civil government which led to such results? They came from Britain; and at the beginning of the collection of laws promulgated by Alfred the Great, from which

the British constitution has grown, stand some fifty *Capitula*, or fundamental Articles, all but two of which were taken *from the laws of Moses*.^{*} That nation which, founding a republic patterned closely after the world's first republic founded by Moses in the wilderness more than three thousand years before, for the first time in eighteen hundred years gave equal rights and privileges to the children of Israel, was a nation in whose homes *the books of Moses* were read from day to day, in whose system of government many of the laws of Moses were conspicuously reënacted, and in whose religious assemblies the words of Moses and the prophets of Israel were read and the Psalms of Israel's poets were sung. A nation which was permeated by the influence of Jewish law, literature, customs, and usages; a nation which inscribed among its geographical designations, such names as Bethlehem and Bethany, Canaan and Eden; Hermon and Hebron, Jerusalem, Jericho, Jordan and Joppa, Sharon and Salem, Tabor and Tekoa, Zebulon and Zoar, and other names which are exclusively Jewish, or which came to their knowledge through the pages of the Jewish Scriptures which they read. A nation whose children from their infancy were instructed and entertained by the stories of the wonders wrought by Israel's God; who are as familiar with the account of Moses in the bulrushes, Joseph with his coat of many colors, David and Goliath, and Daniel in the lion's den, as any of the descendants of Israel can be. A nation in which it would be difficult to find a family which did not number among its male members one who bore the name of some Hebrew patriarch, law-giver, prophet, hero, priest, or king; or which had not among its female members some Miriam, Sarah, Hannah, Elizabeth, Mary, or Ruth, whose name was a

^{*} H. M. IRWIN. *Hebrew Origin of the British Constitution*. See *Cumberland Presbyterian Review*, January and April, 1884, p. 205.

perpetual memorial of the glories and virtues of the chosen people of the Most High ; a nation, more than half of whose chief magistrates have borne the names of ancient Hebrew worthies, and two of whom were named for the father of the faithful himself ; a nation, all whose rites and ordinances of worship came from Jewish sources.—such is the nation under whose shadowing wings a refuge was provided for the sons of Israel in their distress.

To this land, the refuge of the oppressed everywhere, the Jews are now coming as never before. During the year 1885, more than 27,000 Hebrews landed on the shores of America. And though Commissioners of Emigration kept strict watch, that they might send back paupers, criminals, and persons liable to become a public charge; yet, notwithstanding the bitter oppression and spoilation which the Jews had suffered, *not one in a thousand* were sent back.

Here, then, is the prediction of the prophet, and here are the facts before us; are not these events fulfilling the words the prophet spoke so many centuries since?

We cannot turn aside to enter into the curious arguments and speculations of those writers who seek to establish the descent of the Anglo-Saxon race from Abraham the father of the faithful.* Nor is it needful to do this. The fact of lineal descent from Abraham is not the

* It is true that in the blessing of the patriarch Jacob, when, crossing his hands, he laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, Joseph's younger son, and his left hand upon Manasseh, he prayed that they might grow "into a *multitude* in the midst of the earth," or the margin says, "*increase as fishes do increase*," and become "a multitude of nations" (Gen. xlviii. 16-19); and in the blessing upon the twelve patriarchs (Gen. xlix. 22-26) where Joseph is called a fruitful bough whose branches run over the wall, and who is blessed with blessings from heaven above and the deep beneath, blessings of the breasts and of the womb, blessings that should extend unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills,—these words seem to point to something which has by no means been realized in connection with the *ancient* history of Joseph and his descendants. And the benediction of Moses upon Joseph, embracing blessing from heaven above and *earth* beneath, precious fruits brought forth by the sun and moon, precious things of the ancient mountains, precious things of the everlasting hills, and precious things of the

most important fact in this connection. Ishmael was a son of Abraham as well as Isaac, and the lineage of Esau was as distinct as that of Jacob. But Ruth the pious Moabitess who came to trust beneath the shadow of Jehovah's wings was a truer child of Abraham than those daughters of Zion who decked themselves in all the robes of pride and vanity, and by their misconduct dishonored the sacred names which they bore. It is not enough to be a Jew by birth; and that man who, boasting of his Hebrew lineage, rejects the faith of Abraham and disregards the law of his God, speedily demonstrates that he is not a Jew who is one outwardly; and only the circumcision of the heart fits men for the favor of God.

It is certainly true that all the first Christians were Jews, and no corruption was wrought in their blood when they embraced the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth the son of David. Hence in the veins of the early Christian Church flowed the blood of patriarchs and prophets from Abraham down, and from time to time others have embraced the same faith and identified themselves with the Church of Jesus Christ.* Besides in times of persecution and dispersion many Israelites, cut off from association with their co-religionists, or wearied with persecutions and afflictions, have melted into the stream of common humanity, and hence have to-day their descend-

earth and the fullness thereof, and the good will of Him that dwelt in the bush; points not only to spiritual but to temporal benedictions; while the words, "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of unicorns; With them shall he *push the people together to the ends of the earth*" (Deut. xxxiii. 13-17), intimate an irresistible power and prowess unlike anything recognized in the past history of the Jewish race, and quite in keeping with the restless energy of the Anglo-Saxon race, which bears the lion and the unicorn as its chosen emblems; but we can neither discuss nor endorse this theory in these pages.

*Two of the lineal descendants of king David who were Christians, were, about the year A. D. 95, brought before the Emperor Domitian, who had commanded them to be put to death, but who on examination set them at liberty. See TAYLOR'S "*Reign of Christ on Earth*," pp. 85, 86; EUSEBIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, B. iii, ch. xix; xx.

ants among the Gentiles, many of whom plainly bear, in form and feature, the distinguishing marks of Jews.

But the likeness of these peoples to the children of Israel is largely the likeness of men who draw their highest inspirations from a common source, and whose unity is largely in faith and principle rather than by blood. The Omniscient eye may trace lines of connection which no ethnologist can perceive, and the blessing which was to come through Abraham's seed to all the nations of the earth may even be in a process of fulfillment more wide and important than we can imagine.

What the future will unfold it is not for us to predict, but the passage referred to seems to point in intelligible symbols to a period of judgment and an approaching "harvest," to a time of slaughter and calamity, and declares, "In that time shall the present be brought to the Lord of Hosts of a people scattered and peeled, and from a people terrible from their beginning hitherto, a nation meted out and trodden under foot, whose land the rivers have spoiled, to the place of the name of the Lord of Hosts, the Mount Zion." Isa. xviii. It is not for us to expound the details of prophetic fulfillment; but we are sure that there are many who pray for the peace of Jerusalem who will rejoice at any indication of divine mercy in store for those who have been for so many ages scattered and peeled, smitten and afflicted, and whose land, spoiled by the rushing floods of invading hosts, lies desolate and forsaken. And those who believe with the apostle that the Jews had much advantage every way, chiefly because to them were committed the oracles of God, will watch with devout solicitude the unfolding of the divine purpose, in the spirit of that Apostle to the Gentiles who said, "If the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead?"

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